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SOME CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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SYNOPSIS

*Racial tensions in Africa revolve round questions of the status of the black man and his security in land tenure. The African's cultural adjustment to his changing environment has four main aspects: (a) his desire for western education; (b) his re-assessment of his social institutions in the light of that education; (c) his reaction to foreign immigrants; and (d) a new cultural rationale for racism. Racial tensions are highest in South Africa where European settlement has the longest history, and similar tensions are now developing elsewhere in Africa. Various Governments have adopted different methods for dealing with the resulting problems. New arguments such as those of Dr. J. C. Carothers in *The African Mind in Health and Disease*, are employed to justify the Europeans' claims to superiority over Africans. These arguments are criticized.*

Ed.

THE SUB-CONTINENT of Africa south of the Sahara, when considered as a unit, shows certain wide-spread patterns of response to situations which derive from the play of similar historical and psychological forces. To recognize these patterns is not, of course, in any way to deny either the reality or the importance of the regional and local differences which mark off geographical provinces, culture areas, and political entities from one another. These differences have very properly come to provide points of focus for the attention of research scholars and men of practical affairs.

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For reasons we need not elaborate here, there has developed a reluctance to speak and think of Africa as a whole, until to-day the danger exists that in over-stressing this we may fail to recognize the existence, to say nothing of the significance, of the unities on which such differences impinge. We need not be misled by the many works which, though dealing with restricted parts of the continent employ the word "Africa" in their titles, or the all too prevalent tendency to stereotype the entire sub-Saharan continent in terms of a particular part of it. The broad view and the more restricted approach

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has each its place. It is not a question of the cameo versus the mural. We derive only profit when we project detailed information against overall patterns, and assess wide-spread similarities in the light of the different forms they take in different situations.

As a point of departure, we may hence first of all ask what are the historical and psychological forces which must be kept in mind as we consider certain manifestations of the dynamics of the African scene?

On the historical level, the fact that in all the area of Africa with which we are concerned the African, despite his enormous preponderance in numbers, is rarely a free agent, is basic. This is perhaps what is meant when, in most discussions of sub-Saharan Africa, it is pointed out that this is a colonial area, where all sources of power lodge outside the region where it is exercised. Though this is akin to the point just made, it is not the same. For to the conventional statement the reservation is at once expressed that Liberia and the Union of South Africa — and Ethiopia, when it is included in the area under discussion, as it is not here — are self-governing, and are therefore exceptions. In terms of our formulation, however, this political distinction has no relevance. For the African in the Union in no way determines his own destiny, and, even in Liberia, it is only recently that President Tubman's policy of "unification" has begun to bring some representatives of the tribal majority, the peoples of the interior, into the government.

Conquest, then, is the historic fact that has dominated the last half to three-quarters of a century of recent African experience. It is the force in the psychology of all those who are involved in its present day working-out, setting up drives which shape the thought and mould the behaviour of the inhabitants of Africa, whoever they may be, and wherever they live. Professor Frankel has put the proposition in this way: "If I were asked what have been the two poles about which the human forces in Africa have played with the greatest tension, I would say land and status; both for African and non-African

these and little else have in the past spelled the security which they sought and still seek."¹

Yet in these terms we must recognize that the complex problems of the allocation and use of land are the direct result of the dislocations and readjustments that have flowed from the social, economic, political and religious impulses set in motion when Africa came under foreign control, and the rules that governed the lives of indigenous peoples began to be made by outsiders. Nor is it only indigenous peoples whose responses have been involved. It is widely recognized that one of the great political realities in the Union of South Africa to-day is the Boer War; certainly the present tensions between English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans cannot be comprehended without taking this historic fact into full account.

The question of status is of a similar order. It is another manifestation of the working out of the same historical principle, its essential expression psychological, as shown in the attitudes and characteristic reactions of all those who participate in the African scene, European, African or Asian, ruler or ruled. It is too often forgotten that living in any society where differences in status are continuously in the foreground of experience, in every sphere of life, symbolic as well as tangible, leaves its mark on all those who are a part of it. The European official who confesses, "Try as I may, I cannot overcome the distaste I feel when an African comes into my office wearing shoes, and speaking my language properly," is exhibiting one kind of response to living in this situation. His reaction differs only in form from that of the trained African teacher who, commenting on salary differentials, says, "And in spite of this, I am reproached for not maintaining the standard of living set by my European colleagues, which I am constantly told is expected of me."

Out of these broad historical and psychological patterns come the nationalist movements, the separatist churches, and all those other types of reaction to the frustrations which so

¹ FRANKEL, H. S., *Economic Impact on Underdeveloped Societies* (Oxford, 1953), p. 169.

many Africans feel when they assess their present position. And it is these same factors that are at the base of the soul-searching, the aggressions, the endless debates among Europeans as to ways and means of resolving situations that are as frustrating for the privileged minority as for the underprivileged majority.

No approach to the African scene is realistic unless it takes all those concerned into account. The great bulk of African population, by its very size, exerts much more influence on the course of events than is ordinarily recognized. One need only talk with those who are charged with implementing policy to realize this fact—to those who direct relocation or community development or housing schemes, or determine educational policy, or institute new agricultural or grazing practices. The European settler, or industrialist, or trader, no less than the Asian in South and East Africa, are likewise imponderables in the scene. The wisest statesmanship in Africa has discovered that the success of unilateral action can by no means be taken for granted, whether it be a decree to control fishing by Africans or to revise the constitution of a Central African dependency.

When we turn to some of the developments that are responses to the play of the dynamic forces in African life, we may name four that are far-reaching in their implications for the future. The first is the drive on the part of the African for European education. The second, that follows on the attainment in significant measure of the first, is the re-examination and selective re-establishment by the African of the values in his indigenous social institutions and modes of cultural behaviour. The third is the problem posed by the European or Asian settler in African territories. Finally, we must consider a development that lies on the ideological level and hence assumes a peculiar importance, a *cultural rationale for racism*.

(2)

"If we establish a technical school with a capacity for two hundred students", said a high

official of the Belgian Congo, "five hundred candidates present themselves on the opening day". He was speaking in the idiom of European Africa, since the term "technical school" is applied to what elsewhere is called a trade school, where pupils are trained to become masons, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, mechanics and other artisans. But the significance of his comment is the reflection in it of the pressure from Africans, everywhere, on administrations to permit them to have access to the resources of the peoples who, through their superior technology were able to conquer them in the first instance and, living among them in maintaining their rule, opened vistas of standards of living, of health, and of other material benefits available only to those who have the educational key that will unlock the door to this treasure-trove.

The widest manifestation of this drive is the demand for literacy. In the psychology of the African, it has been the ability to read and write that has given the European his controls over man and nature. It is this, therefore, that he seeks for himself and, above all, for his children, so that they will have more adequate control of this power and, to an extent not vouchsafed him, will be enabled to apply it in solving their own problems. A letter from an African teacher in Nigeria shows how, on the local scene, this desire for literacy dominates the thinking of the villagers who live near the boarding school in which he teaches: "I am giving my spare time in helping in the Adult classes in the village. Our big disease is the wrong conception of 'education' which to our people is the ability only to read and write. People in this area as in most of Africa are underfed, diseased (hook-worms), [live under] unsanitary conditions, etc. We have organized a small team of students . . . to help in showing the villagers to dig cess-pits so that they can stop going to the bushes, to stop erosion by planting trees and grasses, and [give] simple hygiene lessons . . . ; but strangely enough their one big desire is to read and write."

This drive for literacy is shown in the official statistics, which tell their tale of a steady in-

crease in number of schools, number of teachers, number of pupils, or the amount of funds allocated to education from year to year. We take at random the figures for primary school pupils in various parts of sub-Saharan Africa. In Nigeria, these increased in number from 933,333 in 1949 to 970,768 in 1953; in the Belgian Congo from 913,100 in 1946 to 962,812 in 1950; in French West Africa from 105,607 in 1947 to 170,378 in 1951; in Northern Rhodesia, on a longer-term basis, from 30,023 in 1937 and 93,505 in 1943 to 146,909 in 1951. In addition, we have also witnessed a steady increase in secondary education and, beyond this, the continuing force of the same impulse creating a demand for study on the more advanced levels. This has resulted in the establishment of the various University Colleges in British West and East Africa, the Institute of Higher Studies at Dakar, the proposed Lovanium center near Leopoldville, and the projected Rhodesian University at Salisbury, in addition to motivating African student migration, in substantial numbers, to Universities in England, France, the United States, and now Germany, Italy, and middle-eastern European countries.

The statistics, however, and the institutionalized representations of this drive that can be named as its tangible results, only afford those who seek to understand the patterns of present-day life a framework for the realities of attitude, behaviour, and achievement. These realities one senses as one attends the graduation ceremony of a remote Mass Education center in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, visits classroom exercises in a modern Lycee in Brazzaville, watches a primary class being drilled in simple sums at a thatched singleroom school in a village deep in the swamps of the upper Congo, or sees boys and girls on a Rhodesian native reserve, learning their letters by tracing them with the forefinger in the dust of the school compound.

One comes even closer to this reality when a worn taxi-driver in Southern Rhodesia, summoned to meet an early plane, confesses that he has worked until three o'clock that morn-

ing; that his long hours are of his own choosing because he is paying for the schooling of two younger brothers, one at Fort Hare, the other at Adams College, both in the Union of South Africa. There is pride in his voice as he tells of the good record both are making, and as he expresses his hope that the elder, when he has finished work for his B.A., may go to England or the United States for further study, and then return to be a teacher. "It's what we need more than anything else." Nor can we fail to be struck by the power that this drive for literacy, all unwittingly, places in the hands of those who can provide it, as when an executive of a missionary society states that one way of enforcing Christian discipline is to withdraw the teacher from the school of a village where drums have been played and African dances danced.

The very intensity of the feelings of Africans about what literacy can do for them, however, has implications that must be explored with care. Literacy, at first blush, is regarded as the means for the satisfaction of all hopes and aspirations; and the discovery that this is but the first step in a long process can open the way to disillusionment and bitterness. Experience corrects this misconception; but more serious, because it is more fundamental in terms of our knowledge of cultural processes, has been the tendency to regard "education" as something peculiar to the literate societies, which they alone possess and which they alone can therefore make available to those of other ways of life. Historically, the earliest educators in Africa took for granted that to educate Africans meant just this. An educational philosophy which held that there might be values in African social life and customs on which a curriculum for Africans could be built did not exist in the intellectual currents of their day. Yet Africans, for all the centuries that their societies have existed, have educated their children, training them in indigenous patterns of morals as well as in the techniques of getting a living, in proper modes of conduct in interpersonal relations, in the creative expression of their culture-graphic arts, dance, oral verse and narrative,

and in maintaining an equable balance with the rest of the universe.

What the European brought, and has in larger measure continued to bring to the African, was schooling, which is but a portion of the total process of social and cultural learning that comprehends the education of the individual. The schooling they brought was European schooling, drawn from the background of the metropole, something which accorded with the prior experiences of the European child but which, transplanted *in toto* to Africa, constituted for the African child a most serious discontinuity between the school and the rest of his environment. In this situation, unlike that of the school whose curriculum derives from the cultural setting in which it is found, teaching could take nothing in the way of experience or sanction for granted; or more frequently, took these for granted to the bewilderment of the learner – a bewilderment that often went unexpressed because of the play of African patterns of polite behaviour.

The result has tended to be stress on form and memory. It is not so long ago that the French textbook in which African children learned that "the palm-tree is a plant which does not grow in our climate", was replaced by one which, to the African child, is somewhat more realistic. It is relatively recently that the repeated charge made by Africans trained in the schools of British territories that at the end of their secondary schooling they knew the geography of Britain far better than that of their own country brought about changes in the school curricula. Everywhere in sub-Saharan Africa, even in bush schools, one finds insistence on African pupils conforming to the schedule of the metropole, regardless of relevance to the African scene. The word, early and late, was that the African child required discipline; but that the African child, like any other, had the discipline of his culture, which might be built on in giving meaning to what in too many cases became rote learning and meaningless memorization was not taken into account.

This wholesale transplanting of educational systems has reached into the highest levels of

African training. The curricula of the African institutions of higher learning, the contents of the subjects taught, and the examinations based on them are, without significant exception, those of the universities of the metropole. It is understandable that the curricula of schools of medicine or engineering necessitate little recognition of the fact of cultural variation; a bridge to be built, a patient to be cured, represent problems that, under the rubric of scientific method, are similarly approached wherever they may be. But in the humanistic disciplines or the social sciences – the latter the most cognizant of the factor of cultural differentials – African values and institutions would seem to have considerable relevance for the teaching of Africans. Nonetheless, one finds professors of philosophy continuing to teach Plato, Aristotle, Nietzsche and Bergson to the exclusion, even by so much as formal recognition, of the philosophical systems that function to regulate life and thought just off the campus or, more than they know, on it, insofar as their students are concerned. One finds professors of comparative literature who in teaching the European classics remain oblivious to the values in the oral narrative and verse forms of the societies to which the very men and women to whom they lecture belong.

One hears, again and again, that what the African gets from his schooling is the form but not the meaning of what he is taught, that his objective is the passing of the examination, the winning of the degree, not the pursuit of knowledge. That this charge is by no means justified need scarcely be noted. The manner in which Africans, wherever opportunity offers, and to the degree they are permitted, function effectively in the phases of African life most responsive to European influence demonstrates its untruth. It is, indeed, a tribute to the determination of the Africans to whom European education has been made available that this is so, in view of the psychological and educational handicaps imposed on them as the result of their having been compelled from earliest school years to adjust to acquiring a type of knowledge and modes of behaviour that, because they have no meaning

in terms of the real life of the student, require such application to penetrate and master.

This fact of the relevance of schooling to the life of the pupil, then, presents the basic problem to be faced in meeting the demand of the African for schooling; nor are signs lacking that educators, African and European alike, are increasingly becoming sensitive to it. "We need education," as the Asantehene, the ruler of the Ashanti put it, "but we must have education that will not give disrespect to the Ashanti way of life". The recognition, and the changes in curriculum and method of teaching that will result will undoubtedly bring in turn a more satisfactory resolution of the difficulties faced everywhere by educational administrators in furnishing the facilities and, above all, the teachers so desperately needed to supply the ever-increasing pressure of African demand for more schools, better training, longer schooling.

Even the question of the use of the "vernacular", the somewhat invidious term employed for the unwritten languages of Africa, may in this spirit be solved - whether it be the nationalistic clamor in some parts for more teaching in the language of the people or, on the contrary, the protests heard from Africans in such regions as the Union of South Africa that the enforced teaching in the native language for the first years of schooling, handicaps them in the use of English. Or it may bring about a realization of the arbitrary nature of the ruling, as in Portuguese African territory, that prohibits teaching in any school, at any grade, of any subject except the catechism in any tongue but that of the metropole; and interposing for Africans three years of "rudimentary" education before the elementary stage, which makes it all but impossible to attain the educational qualification for admission to the secondary school, the Liceu, until after the age-limit for admission has been passed.

The African, in his desire for literacy and for schooling, has discerningly followed the leads of his recent history. The danger is that the presence of ethnocentric rigidity in the European administration of educational programs may

make for a reaction to schooling that can have serious repercussions for all concerned in the African scene, Africans no less than others. Discussions like the one in *The Cockerel*, the student magazine of the University College of the Gold Coast, debating the relative value of Twi and English, as languages, have little point, since all languages are valid instruments of communication. Yet in indicating that each language has its qualities, the author quite correctly goes on to say, "It is clear that no one has the right to expect English to do the work which Twi does," adding "... no living language has yet been found which lacks the means of expressing new ideas which the speech community has acquired." Arguing that translation into Twi of works of all kinds thus presents no difficulty, he continues: "People talk of raising educational standards as if it was a matter of pressing a button. How can you raise educational standards if you have first to teach your pupils for ten years the language with which you are going to educate them, and that poorly? You really get nothing done accurately until the upper forms of secondary schools or in the University where all the work is concentrated. The English name for this is cramming, not education." And, observing that, "English is ... not part of our life, it is external to it", he ends his article with the assertion, "No society can depend on a language the making of which it has no hand in. It is the vernaculars which have any real hope, not English."

This passage is cited not because it solves the most difficult problem of which it treats, but because of the attitude it reveals. And this attitude, intimately connected with the question of schooling, as it clearly shows, is at the heart of the question raised by the second development to be treated here, to which we now turn.

(3)

The pattern of African reaction to European culture seems, on broad lines, to be reasonably well established. It appears to fall into three

well-defined stages, marking a path which, in its full length, has been followed as yet only in a few parts of the continent.

In the first stage, after peaceful assumption of control, or the imposition of rule by force, the European is accepted as a remote being, endowed with superior power, and therefore to be heard with respect and emulated insofar as comprehension of his strange ways and ability to tap his awesome resources permit. Where he is accepted with reservations, these are well concealed, because of fear of the powers of all kinds he controls. This is the day of the isolated district officer, the remote mission station. The strangers are councillors, judges, and where friendship can cross the deep gulf of status, friends; it is they who can deal with the forces of the new world that has come to the African, forces against which he is powerless.

With continued contact, cracks in the armor begin to appear. Europeans become more familiar; they are found to have the frailties of other human beings. They war with each other; where they come to preach a new belief, their doctrines are not always in harmony, and they contest for the allegiances of the Africans living near them. More is learned about the machines that aid them in conquering time and distance; Africans as well as Europeans can operate and repair them. The knowledge of how to read and write is acquired, Africans experience at first-hand this outside world and learn that what has happened to them is not unique. Questions arise as to their present position and their hopes for the future. They begin to see that the values of their own cultures, often denigrated by themselves in the first flush of their acquisition of the cultures of Europe, are not of the inferior quality they had come to believe they were.

At this point the path bifurcates. Here reaction to the teachings, the things that have come from the outside can take the line of appraisal and selection, as is clearly occurring in the Gold Coast, in Nigeria, in French West Africa and elsewhere. Or continued frustration can lead to rejection and the preachment of return to the traditional ways, with the demand

for the ejection of the European, the carrier of this way of life now held undesirable, by violence if need be as in Kenya.

It may be well asked, what of the third possibility, in which the African wholly accepts European culture – civilization, as it is called by those who envisage this – gradually becoming the equal of the European and ultimately raising himself, as the terminology goes, to the same social, moral, economic and technological level? This is an alternative that must be considered, for many in Africa hold the inevitability of its achievement an article of faith, and it is a stated objective of official policy in Belgian and Portuguese Africa and, to a substantial degree, in French Africa as well.

To this, as to the question whether the aims of the Africans who would return to the old way of life can be realized, the answer is the same. Culture, being learnable, not only *can be learned* by any people who have access to the knowledge, the techniques, of any other people, but in some measure always *is learned*; so that peoples never come into contact without experiencing some alteration in their ways of life. Every people, that is, has its culture, and there are thus no fresh cultural slates on which a foreign way of life can be newly inscribed. What is taken over is projected against pre-existing patterns, and the result is never identical with the model. By the same token, cultures are never exported in their totality. Hence it is as much, but no more, fantasy on the part of Africans to believe that they can recapture the ways of life that existed before European contact, as it is for Europeans to anticipate that Africans will become identical, in their thoughts and acts with those who would act as their model.

In essence, this means that African culture-change will be selective, and that the variation in result, represented in the greater or lesser numbers of European elements in an African setting will reflect the historic situation in which the African cultures of the future will individually develop. Here the experience of the African and his descendants in the New World throws significant light on what can be anticipated in

Africa itself. For in the Americas and in the Caribbean, where these peoples have been in contact with Europeans and their cultures far longer than has occurred in any but the smallest fraction of their ancestral continent, we find that elements of the earlier African cultures have persisted, in instance, to an unsuspected degree of purity, but more frequently in changed but analyzable form. This at once clarifies the issue: for how, in their own home, can the cultures of Africa be expected to undergo more far-reaching change than could be achieved through the attack on these cultures that occurred during the regime of New World slavery?

It so happens that most of the reports of changing Africa are the work of non-Africans, or, where they are made by Africans, are in most instances by those fascinated by the machine cultures of Europe and America and the possibility for changed standards of living these offer. Such accounts, in the nature of the case, tend to stress change, which in these terms means the substitution of European for African ways. In addition to this, the fact must not be forgotten that change in the behaviour of a people is not only easier to discern and assess than stability, but, in the prevailing climate of interest, becomes the obvious aspect of any situation under consideration. All this goes to explain why the dynamics of changing Africa are so rarely presented in balance, why the present scene is so seldom considered in its totality. With retention of the old considered as unimportant, a rounded account becomes impossible.

Yet when we turn to the cultures of Africa with the object of discerning totality, we find that, in the life of a people as actually lived, the old may assume great functional as well as symbolic importance. Thus, for example, over the leading story in the Accra *Daily Graphic* for October 12, 1953, is the headline "Ceremony ends Ga dispute". The appended photograph is of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister, in European clothes, shaded by an umbrella of state, surrounded by chiefs and people in African dress, reading from a manuscript into a microphone. From the text, we learn that a four-year old

dispute between two important chiefs of the capital city had been settled by a commission appointed by the Prime Minister. On this occasion, he had presented a bullock which was slaughtered to mark the reconciliation, at the ancient place of sacrifice, as is required by customary law, and the proper officials had dipped their staffs of office in the blood as a symbol of unity in the Ga state. The Prime Minister gave the bottles of gin from which the essential libations were poured. After one of the disputants had paid homage to the Ga Manche, the head of the State, his opponent, a vote of thanks was moved on behalf of the Divisional Chiefs, who reaffirmed their allegiance to their leader.

No European was concerned in this ceremony, which illustrates the statement made before that the selective process in cultural change, as evidenced in a recognition of the values in both old and new ways, has gone farthest in the Gold Coast. It takes no special insight to discern how both African and European elements meet in this event, so important in the political life of the capital of the country. The microphone, the dress of the Prime Minister, the vote of thanks - these are clearly European; the offering of the bullock, the dipping of the staves in its blood, the libations, the state umbrella as a symbol of rank, the formal reaffirmation of allegiance are as clearly African. One might stress the former aspects, as one might the latter; to do either would be to throw the resulting account out of focus.

In actuality, this kind of situation can be found almost anywhere in Africa, even where for the most part the earlier stages of reaction to contact with European culture still prevail. Thus, for example, in Northern Tanganyika, where people such as the Masai are scarcely touched in their mode of life by cultural contact, one may witness among the Arusha, culturally similar to them, a traditional dance honouring a literate chief, dressed in European clothing, who has his office in the substantial near-by building, and has been elected by a democratic vote of the people. Or, the VaMwila, a cattle-keeping people in southern Angola, originally

non-pecuniary, who have manifested little interest in the aspects of European culture urged on them by missionaries and administrators, have fully accepted the value of Portuguese money, and show no reluctance at all to pose for photographers when they realize that they will profit from this.

Once we understand the fact that change in Africa is selective, and take account that culture has many facets, no two of which change at the same rate; that some aspects may not change at all, while others may be completely altered, instances of all these come to hand. A native ruler in Central Africa complains that his people have lost their old customs, that nothing is as it was. Yet a simple question as to whether the old family structure and the clan have disappeared, first startles him, and then restores the balance. Yes, he agrees, these have remained, and diet, and much of clothing, and the value of the cattle, and many more things. What he meant is that he no longer gets the revenue he did, or has as much free labour; that some of the court rituals are no longer possible, that new crops are being grown, that money is being used.

In almost any urban center, one finds that town living, work for wages, and the steady application to labour required by industrialization has by no means erased the allegiances of the Africans to their villages and to many of the patterns of their non-industrial society. Thus, for example, in Leopoldville one hears the doctor in charge of a maternity clinic tell of the difficulty of computing vital statistics, since many pregnant women return to their villages before parturition and may lose their infants there and never return to the clinic; or how a woman who brings her sick child to him will take it away if medical care does not yield prompt results, so that a native practitioner can treat it. Or he may tell how an assistant, trained in nursing, in need of an operation, would not consent to its being performed until she obtained permission from her maternal uncle, living in a distant village; and this being refused, would not permit it. Another instance of this selective adjustment to urban living may be taken from Johannesburg,

where old family forms cannot function as on the reserves, and realignments have been necessitated. In one case, when an elderly man died there, and his oldest son could not come to officiate at the funeral, as Zulu custom demands, all the clansmen of the dead man gathered to perform the modified type of traditional ritual of death now becoming customary in South African cities.

That it is essential to probe deeply the nature of the changes in African culture now taking place, especially as concerns the fact that the selectivity of these changes is the result of a positive affirmation of values in traditional ways, need not again be underscored. The political or educational officer who complains of "atavism" when a clerk or teacher asks leave to attend the rites for his ancestors; the European headmaster in the mission school who is hurt by the fact that students, conscientiously taught, turn to native, unsanctioned music and dance for recreation—to cite only two examples out of the endless number anyone familiar with the African scene can recall—is reacting unrealistically to the situation of which he is a part. In doing this, he is helping to create a climate of emotional tension, the consequences of which can be disastrous for adjustment, individual or social. As the European values his own culture, so the African, and he weighs what in his contact with Europe he finds good. It is not without significance that, as one moves about the continent, one finds the greatest relaxation, the best co-operation between races, where this fundamental fact in modern African life is best understood.

(4)

We now turn to the next development we shall consider, the problem of the white settler class, or, as it may be termed, of a population of European Africans. It is linked to the fourth topic we shall take up, standing somewhat in the same relationship to it as we saw the development of schooling to stand with regard to the changing attitudes of Africans to their own body

of custom. The final two, however, differ from the others in one respect; they exhibit greater variation, in some instances being entirely absent from large areas of sub-Saharan Africa.

On the sound principle of scientific method that it is profitable to give attention to those instances where a phenomenon does not exist, it will be worth while to turn briefly to British West Africa, where the settler problem is not present. Comparing the territories here with other parts of the continent, we see that certain aspects of the total situation emerge as unique to them. Thus, in British West Africa there are no native reserves in the country or locations in the urban centers, while such large-scale operations as mining or mechanized agricultural projects hold their land on leases which bring rent and sometimes royalties to the African owners. There is no official colour-bar, nor what Lord Hailey has aptly called the culture-bar; services such as those of transport, hotel accommodations and restaurants are available to any who can pay their cost. The Africanization of government services, of the managerial ranks of trading companies and of the staffs of educational institutions is a matter of policy, and is in process everywhere. The problem of race relations is by African standards minimal, this fact deriving from economic as well as political causes. The ideal of equal pay and perquisites for those who do the same work is much further toward realization than elsewhere, especially in government or in institutions of higher learning. Furthermore, on the level of personal relations, especially in professional circles, a give-and-take between members of the two groups on the basis of individual preference is possible to a degree found nowhere else on the continent.

The uniqueness of their position does not escape those West Africans who compare it to situations found elsewhere. An article in the *Lagos Daily Times* early in April, 1953, entitled "The Mosquito in Politics", written by an African member of the faculty of University College, Ibadan, begins "Let us imagine for a moment that in the process of biological evolution nature omitted to put in that tiny little item, the mos-

quito . . . What sort of Nigeria would you and I be living in to-day?" After answering his question, and considering what the situation in other parts of Nigeria would be, he makes the point that the mosquito, the carrier of malaria, fatal to Europeans but not to Africans, has been the prime cause of the absence of European settlement. "While Negroes in mosquito-free parts of Africa are deprived of the elementary right of voting, we, over here, hold ministerial portfolios." The article ends with this encomium: "Let us give thanks therefore to that little insect, the mosquito, which has saved the land of our fathers for us. We cannot sing its praises too often. The least we can do now is to engrave its picture on our National Flag."

We recognize, of course, that no simplistic approach to the complexities of a changing social situation, such as presents itself everywhere in Africa, yields more than a partial explanation. In the present case, the article is essentially valuable as an analysis of attitude, since it leaves out numerous other causes which have resulted in the present ordering of affairs, to say nothing of the fact that medical discoveries of the past decade have quite removed most of the fears Europeans may have earlier held of the carrier of malaria. Nonetheless, the fact remains that where one variable in contrasting social configurations remains as constant as does the factor of European settlement in the African scene, it must be regarded as a contributing cause of some magnitude in making for the observed differences. This, in essence, is the reason why it must be placed in the first rank of those developments in Africa which merit consideration.

Thus, in terms of tensions between racial groupings, it is obvious that these have mounted highest in the Union of South Africa, where permanent settlement of Europeans has the longest history, and Europeans are more numerous than anywhere else. Other areas of tension - the Ivory Coast, the White Highlands of East Africa, British Central Africa - are similarly, but to a lesser degree, ones where permanent settlement by Europeans is an accomplished

fact. Uganda offers a test of our proposition worth considering, for it is the consensus of informed opinion that the tensions between Africans and Europeans in Uganda are minimal as compared with the neighbouring territories of East Africa. We find that in 1948, of a population of 4,958,520, Europeans numbered but 3,448. But we also find that there were 33,767 Indians, 1,448 Goans and 1,475 Arabs, and one is not long in Uganda before he finds that racial tensions, arising from attitudes of Africans toward Asians, do exist. This would seem to indicate that the fact of the presence of permanent foreign residents in positions of power, political or economic, is the significant element, and not the fact of European settlement, *per se*. Nothing is more certain, however, than that the uneasiness of the African inhabitants of Uganda at the possibility of an East African Union arises out of their fears that they will be then in a situation where both political and economic power will lodge in the hands of the same minority group of permanent residents who have come from outside the continent.

Granting then, that permanent settlement of Europeans in African territory creates special problems, it is worth considering the approaches toward this question taken by various governments, and something of the manner in which they envisage the results of the positions they have assumed. The Belgian Congo, where colonization in the sense of permanent settlement is being urged, is a good case in point. One can quote the discourse of M. Maleingreau, president of the Federation of Colonists (Fédacol) at the opening session of the Commission du Colonat in Brussels, in June 1953, as to the aims of colonization. His remarks, as reported in the *Essor du Congo* (6 June, 1953) were addressed to the Minister of Colonies of the Government of Belgium: "To base the conservation of the principles of our civilization and the respect for economic rights acquired by the Belgians on the expectation of recognition of them by primitive peoples is a psychological enormity. Gratitude is not a sentiment of the mass. On the other hand, if the black man is not affected by

that which he does not perceive or which does not strike his imagination, he is extremely capable of liking what he does see and his attachment to the person who protects and guides him is proverbial. At the present time our duty is clearly outlined: to people the Congo with inhabitants of the white race so as to realize its potentialities and raise the level of its populations and, to preserve the face inside the country, to place those who govern under the eyes of the blacks and in direct personal contact with them."

The point of view expressed here is not essentially different from that one can hear in British East and Central Africa, or in Portuguese territory. In the latter case, it has been clearly enunciated by General Norton de Matos, a functionary of long service as Governor-General of Angola, in his book, published in 1953, entitled *Africa Nossa*, with the subtitle, "O que queremos e o que não queremos nas nossas terras de Africa". What we want and what we do not want in our African lands." "We want", he says at the outset of his work, "to assimilate to us, completely, the black inhabitants of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea; we wish to people, intensively and rapidly, these African provinces of Portugal with Portuguese families of the white race; we wish the nation to comprise a single people, composed of descendants of our race and the races we have assimilated to us; we wish a civilization which permits men of various races to live a full life, in peace and harmony, in the same region; we wish One Nation, the result of complete and perfect National Unity." On the other hand, "We do not want our African lands to be solely for the Africans; we do not want these lands only for Portuguese of the white race; we do not want separation by race or colour in Portuguese lands, wherever they may be; we do not wish the least social, political or administrative discrimination to exist among the Portuguese people".

It is instructive to follow General de Matos somewhat farther in his argument. He tells how the policy of Portugal, from its first contact with peoples other than the Portuguese, has been in accordance with Christian morality, and how

(p. 15) "from Christian equality we pass readily to economic equality". He continues: "In Africa, to convert the blacks, to lift them from the moral and material misery in which they are found, to teach them, to clothe them, to give them human dwellings, to make them rural proprietors or transform them into artisans having their own shops, this was what we had in mind." "But," he adds, "we are not thinking of giving them political equality at once, to make them politically equal to us." This, General de Matos feels, is inadvisable, and cites as his example the English who, in East and West Africa, have "too rapidly passed from Christian equality to political equality". Portugal, he says (on p. 50), must move as rapidly as possible to develop her lands economically, peopling them with white families, teaching all in her own language, aiding all with social assistance of every sort. "But we must have the greatest care as concerns the rest, with mentality quite unknown to us, as in Kenya and elsewhere, care above all not to allow a press published in native languages, or fetishism and its rites . . ."

The extent to which immigration of permanent settlers to various parts of the continent is taking place is not easy to determine. Returning to Portuguese policy, it is said that one aim is to settle 100,000 Portuguese annually in Angola. In 1952, 24 farming families, numbering 134 persons arrived to initiate a settlement project at Cela, in the province of Benguela, and it was expected that 250 families would soon thereafter depart from the metropole for this colony, which it was hoped would have 1500 inhabitants within the year—an estimate regarded by some officials as optimistic. One unusual point in this project is worthy of mention; under terms of the contracts made with the immigrants, they may not employ African labour, because of its scarcity in the colony.

In the Belgian Congo, the European population is rising by about 10,000 annually. On January 1, 1953, the Minister of Colonies gave the figure of about 80,000 whites; the census of a year earlier had enumerated 69,000 of them. How permanent this population is, cannot be

said; unlike in East and Central Africa, or in the Angola highlands, Europeans in the main work in the towns or in the mines, and only the minority live off the land which, in the Congo, is mostly cultivated by Belgian companies who operate large plantations. As in French territory, the inflation of recent years has greatly increased the cost of bringing and maintaining white workers. A Leopoldville employer has estimated that to employ a European automobile mechanic costs the equivalent of about \$1,000 a month. In large part, this is because, as one economist has put it, the system of employee benefits for Europeans is one of the most remarkable of its kind in the world. Employers are required to furnish European employees and their families free housing, furniture, and medical care in all its aspects, plus vacations of six months in Europe, with salary and travel expenses, once every three years. Most firms, in addition to these minima, pay for the domestic servants of their European employees and provide daily transportation to and from work. Family allowances are made to those with children and there are adequate pension, insurance, sickness and disability plans.

The minimum salary per month for Belgians is 10,000 francs (\$200.00); for Europeans recruited locally, 8,100 francs (\$162.00). It should be noted that employers of African labour also furnish homes in the Centres Extra-coutumieres, or native locations, or provide allowances in lieu of housing and other benefits. The absolute minimum wage for Africans, as set by law, is about 26 francs (53 cents) a day in Leopoldville, excluding allowances, but shortage of labour causes most firms to offer more. Clerks, typists, and others in positions requiring special skill receive higher pay; the case of one such African drawing 7,000 francs (\$140.00) a month, including allowances, may be noted.

The pattern of colonization in French territory is somewhat different than elsewhere. Here, again, though the person who comes from the metropole to make his residence and career is encountered, these are in the minority. The most striking divergence from Belgian, English

and South African practices, where the financial responsibility of Europeans proposing to emigrate is more carefully scrutinized before the necessary permits are issued, seems to lie in the fact that so much of French immigration derives in large measure from the lower economic levels of French society. In the cities one finds that shop-girls, taxi-drivers, clerks and others in positions below those ordinarily held by whites elsewhere may as likely be Europeans as Africans, and in post-offices, banks and other establishments, persons of both races will be seen working side by side. With the customary wage differentials, this makes for tensions that result from the competition for jobs.

A situation seems to be developing in this regard that may with time come to parallel the South African "poor white" problem of a decade ago - something that in the Union is being prevented from spreading by the measures just indicated. A similar situation, on a smaller scale, obtains in Mozambique and Angola, though here it is hoped that the interposition of the system of rudimentary education will provide an obstacle to Africans competing with whites; in the words of a Portuguese description of this new system, through it and special vocational courses, it is intended "to avoid the development of an urban proletariat, de-tribalized individuals not being abandoned, but led in the direction of assimilation in such a way as to avoid competition between Europeans and Africans".

This development in the African scene could be pursued much farther with profit, since it is apparent that it constitutes one whose implications for the future are of the utmost significance. This is particularly true where, in British East, Central and South Africa, and increasingly in Belgian, French and Portuguese territories, appreciable numbers of European men and women, and in the former, Asians, born in Africa, have come to regard it as their home. Studies of possible differences in their psychology and those of newly arrived or temporary residents - in motivation, attitude, and value-systems - should throw much light on the

situation of which they are a part, and materially aid in predicting the future course of events where they are concerned. As a permanent feature of the African scene, they must be taken into full account in any approaches to the contemporary problems of Africa, whether concerned with analysis as such, or the determination of policy.

(5)

From the earliest days of contact with the African, Europeans have speculated on the reasons why his modes of life, no less than his physical type, differed from theirs. The tale is a long one; it will be enough for our purposes to note that these explanations have changed with the changing currents of thought of the times, so that now one, now another reason came to prevail. During the first four decades of this century, cultural differences were most often explained in terms of differences in innate abilities, reflected in the physical characteristics of the types concerned.

This came to be called racism, and in racist terms, the African was held to have failed to achieve the standard of civilization of other races because his biological equipment did not permit him to do so. Various forms of this explanation were to be encountered; reference was made to differences in brain-weight or complexity of convolution, or a thicker skull which knit at an earlier age than in persons of other races, or an inherent tendency to rapid development in infancy and in early childhood, followed by failure to continue this progress into adulthood. Long before the Nazi debacle, with the consequent discredit cast on the racist hypothesis that provided one of the important elements of its ideological base, human biologists and anthropologists had destroyed each theory by patient investigation. The downfall of its principal proponents now impressed the validity of the scientific findings on a large segment of public opinion.

One of the most striking current develop-

ments in Africa has been the change in the explanations as to why the African, pressing for educational, economic and political opportunities, cannot be given what he asks. For, relatively speaking, one rarely encounters a racist explanation of this; seldom hears the expression of an opinion that the African is a second-class human being, incapable by the very nature of his endowment, of scaling the heights of civilization the European achieved long ago. The abilities of the African are not only admitted, but more often than would be expected, their recognition is urged. The argument now lies on the level of learned, that is, culturally and historically acquired aptitudes, rather than on biologically determined, innate abilities, and has thus shifted from a racial to a cultural basis. Because it rests on intellectual foundations that scientifically are no more valid than were the reasons based on innate differences - whatever the social, political and economic considerations involved in the solution of the difficult problems of adjustment in Africa today - it must be thought of as the cultural equivalent of the earlier doctrine of racism. The African, that is, is held to act like a child because his cultures have lagged behind the civilizations of Europe, not because he is destined by his nature to remain one.

This is, of course, not always clearly expressed, for earlier habits of racist thinking do not slough off easily. Yet a letter entitled, "Responsibilities in Africa" that appeared in the *East African Standard* of Nairobi on August 13, 1953, will show the prevalent point of view well enough. "The human race is a family of nations," the writer states after discussing the responsibilities of parents and children within a family, "some mature in political and social affairs while others are just emerging from the nursery of elementary human experience." He points out that, "whatever may be the opinion of certain aspects of western civilization, it has at least the background and heritage of some centuries of struggle, endeavour and achievement that gives it the right to claim a position of leadership". The indigenous peoples of East Africa, prior to about 1890, had not appreciably "advanced along the

long road of civilized development"; and this prompts the question, "Are we wrong in regarding Africans as among the youngest members of the human family, and therefore not yet morally or intellectually equipped to share fully in the complicated mode of living that the west has suddenly introduced into their midst?"

It is not necessary here to follow the development of this argument further, since these excerpts adequately interpret the position of the writer, the very figure of the African as the child in the family of nations making the point. Nor need other instances be cited; they are abundant. One finds a protest in a Belgian Congo newspaper against certain acts of the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations couched in terms of the argument that tutelage implies control and direction of a culturally younger people by one more experienced. The same philosophy pervades a definition of "partnership" proposed for the new Federal Party in the Rhodesian Federation: "The realization that the European is the senior and the African is the junior partner; that the latter requires to be guided by the former and that each should be rewarded according to his contribution to the welfare of the community." Yet it is to be noted that here, as elsewhere, the ability of the African to develop is not denied, the next proposal urging "The extension of political rights and privileges to those who conform to civilized standards of behaviour and conduct." Perhaps on the level of unconscious reaction, this point of view is implicit in the consistent use, by French, Belgians, Portuguese and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans of the second person singular - the form used ambivalently for children, inferiors, intimates and animals - when speaking to Africans, even when their degree of adequacy to handle European culture is considerable.

Certain points mark the affirmations of the person who takes this culturist position. Most often heard is the statement that since it took Europe five hundred years - the time varies, now being a thousand, now two hundred - one cannot expect the African, hardly more than fifty years from the bush, to grasp its intricacies.

The element of truth in this statement gives it its sanction ; that it runs counter to scientific knowledge concerning cultural learning — that this is a function of opportunity, not generations — is not recognized. It is quite true that the African, living his aboriginal way of life, is not culturally equipped to live in terms of European patterns ; but so, for that matter, is the reverse, as Europeans who attempt to hunt lions with spears have learned to their cost. As was customary when racist misconceptions were faced with the scientific findings, so with the precepts of culturism. The African professional man is regarded as the exception ; the success of the Gold Coast in moving toward self-government is held to be the result of three hundred years' contact with Europeans — the implications of the fact that the conquest of Kumasi occurred at about the same time as the occupation of the White Highlands being quite passed over.

There is no question of the earnestness or honesty with which this position is held ; rather the fact is important that in assuming it, the lessons taught by the scientific study of culture are ignored, with results that cannot but be far-reaching in the future. And just as racism had its presumed scientific justification, so the beginnings of a presumed scientific base for culturism is appearing.

Early in 1953 there was published, under the auspices of the World Health Organization, a monograph by a psychiatrist, Dr. J. C. Carothers, under the title *The African Mind in Health and Disease, a Study in Ethnopsychiatry*. The author, rejecting the racist explanation of African behaviour, says, "It is a main theme of this monograph that African culture has developed on such lines as to reduce the exigencies of living to a minimum, and that the integration which the rural African apparently achieves, is founded on the continuing support afforded by his culture and has but little independent existence in himself." This is not the place to discuss the validity of the ethnographic materials which are marshalled to support this thesis ; suffice it to say that Dr. Carothers is obviously not a competent ethnographer. Few of the studies of African

life written out of a sophisticated field technique are cited by him, and the degree of generalization in his work blots out the variations in African cultures, and with this the African as he actually lives. In reality, he has had recourse to an outworn concept of so-called "primitive" life which, based on inadequate methodology, saw only the patterned modes of conduct and ignored the variations that since have been found everywhere, even in the "simplest" societies, to play about them. Such peoples, in the view of this theory, long since rejected by students of culture, but here advanced anew, lived in a kind of cultural strait-jacket, all individuality suppressed, the individual a social automaton.

From this point Dr. Carothers proceeds to apply the findings of psychiatry. "In general", we are told, "it seems that the rather clear distinction that exists in Europeans between the 'conscious' and the 'unconscious' elements of mind does not exist in rural Africans. The 'censor's' place is taken by the sorcerer, and 'splits' are vertical, not horizontal. Emotion easily dominates the entire mind ; and when it does, the latter's frank confusion takes the place of misinterpretation." Psychiatrists, the discussion goes on, are not in accord as to the neurophysiological causes of this difference, but whatever the position, the author says, they seem to agree that, "'Frontal idleness' accounts, at least in part, for the divergencies observed in Africa, and that a 'fragility of higher psychic functions which contributes to a liberation of automatic psychomotor centers' includes this part."

From the cultural point of view, the relevance of all this for Dr. Carothers derives from the argument that "for full development of both aspects of intelligence", that is, the impersonal and social aspects, "both early infantile and later childhood experiences must follow certain lines and that neither of these lines is followed, early or late". In other words, we now have an explanation of African failure to function in the European setting in terms of the influence of cultural experience on individual development. And this, in turn, is given a neurological explanation : "The main function of the frontal lobes

seems to be the integration of stimuli arriving from other parts of the brain (thalamus and cortex) . . . When integration is lacking, the frontal lobes would be relatively idle since they alone subserve no other function. The African, with his lack of total synthesis, must therefore use his frontal lobes but little, and all the peculiarities of African psychiatry can be envisaged in terms of this frontal idleness."

It must not be assumed that the cultural equivalent of racism is restricted to the African scene, any more than its latency in earlier years is belied by the fact that it has to-day moved to the forefront. Its importance for Africa is that of the importance of any ideology, everywhere, and at all times. Ideologies derive their force from the fact that their logic and the facts employed to

bolster them fit in with the preconceptions of an age, an area. They are thus in themselves data of the highest order in analyzing the situations in which they are found ; as socialized rationalizations they illuminate the underlying psycho-social drives that give rise to them. In observing the play between the developing facets of African life - the desire for education and the re-assertion of the values in African native cultural patterns, on the one hand, and the growing number of non-Africans permanently domiciled in Africa, with their newly developing ideology on the other - we can look down vistas of the years to come with realism, and weigh the more surely the possible resolutions of differences and tensions these developments portend.

AN ALIBI FOR MANTATISI

MARION HOW *

SYNOPSIS

Most historians are mistaken in saying that 'Ma Nthatisi and her Batlokoa ever crossed the Vaal River. The wars and plundering attributed to her and her tribe, the Batlokoa, were carried out by four other Basuto tribes who invaded the country north of the Vaal River. These four tribes, as well as many others, had been driven from their homes by the Zulu invasions of 1822, and as their movements are interwoven and confusing a brief introductory statement of six points may make them clearer. (1) Because the Batlokoa under 'Ma Nthatisi were a fierce marauding tribe, their name Mantatees was misapplied to any marauding tribe. Although the name referred to her originally, this misapplication, very often, was not found out until a long time afterwards. (2) The Batlokoa of 'Ma Nthatisi did not go as far north-west as Dithakong, and they never crossed the Vaal at all. Fleeing from the Zulu invasions the movements of this tribe followed the southward line of the Caledon River. (3) Later evidence now shows that only one continuous battle took place at Dithakong, and that the Griquas and Koranas, coming to help the Batlhaping against the invading tribes, only intervened at one battle at Dithakong, not in two battles as described by Ellenberger and Macgregor, firstly on pages 137 and 307 and secondly on page 139. This battle apparently began about the 24th June 1823 between the Maphuting of Tsooane and Sebetoane's Bafokeng, after which the Bahlakoana arrived. Finally it became a four cornered fight on the 26th June when a force arrived on the scene to repulse all the above invaders and to prevent them from reaching Kuruman. This force was composed of Griquas, Koranas and Batlhaping with whom were Moffat and Melville. (4) An attempt will be made to reconstruct the invasion by these four Basuto tribes of what is now Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Transvaal, and (5) to show what was the relationship of Sebetoane to the Maphuting and to the Bahlakoana at the battle of Dithakong. (6) At the end will be found a copy of extracts of a long letter from René Ellenberger, and finally extracts written by Dr. Edwin Smith about the battle of Dithakong.

Another point stressed by René Ellenberger is that 'Ma Nthatisi's eldest daughter was called Nthatisi, which means someone with self respect. Therefore, the correct spelling for her mother's name is 'Ma Nthatisi.

INTRODUCTION

IN THE interests of historical accuracy, certain notes and manuscripts on this subject ought to have been placed before the public nearly forty years ago, but until such time as they are printed, the contents of three or four letters and some notes may be useful. They were written by four

men who were authorities on the subject, namely the Rev. D. F. Ellenberger, author of the *History of the Basuto*, which was written in French; secondly his son-in-law, Sir James Macgregor, who re-wrote it into English and was also the author of *Basuto Traditions*; thirdly his son, René Ellenberger; fourthly, his friend J. M. Orpen, who quotes, too, his own father-in-law,

* Mrs. How is the grand-daughter of the late Rev. D. F. Ellenberger of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, who together with her father, Sir James Macgregor, a former Resident Commissioner of Bechuana-

land Protectorate, wrote the *History of the Basuto, Ancient and Modern*. Sir James had previously published *Basuto Traditions*.

Samuel Rolland, who arrived at Robert Moffat's at Kuruman in 1829 or 1830, and with Lemue founded the mission station Motito in what is now Bechuanaland Protectorate.

To show that 'Ma Nthatisi never crossed the Vaal River, and later on to make, as far as is possible at the moment, an attempt at reconstructing the picture of the Basuto invasion north of the Vaal, it is necessary to re-tell from some parts of Ellenberger's book, and those of other historians, what is already well known.

D. F. Ellenberger arrived in Basutoland in 1861. Among the Basuto who became his personal friends, and from whom he obtained much of his information, were such men as the chiefs Moletsane of the Bataung, Moorosi of the Baphuti, Moshesh himself, and many others; among whom were intelligent descendants of chiefs of other tribes, and old men survivors of the time when oral tradition was still a living thing. They were a mine of information to anyone anthropologically and historically minded, for the older men among them had lived through and survived the terrible time known as the wars of the *Lifaqane*, caused by the Zulu invasions, which began in 1822 and lasted till about 1833.

Ellenberger's sons and sons-in-law who were living from 1884 onwards in places from Basutoland northwards to Bechuanaland Protectorate, Rhodesia and the Zambesi, also collected much information for him.

The word *Lifaqane* is the plural of *faqane*, a time of great calamity, war, famine, etc. It was used to describe those particular wars because they were waged by whole complete tribes accompanied on the war path by their women and children and their cattle. Sometimes they even carried the poles and mats which they made into dwellings *en route*, with all the contents thereof, such as their picks, clay cooking pots, and karoses, also their jewellery and riches which were beads and copper rings, large and small. This was a great and very terrible contrast to the ordinary kind of war between tribes when only the fighting men went out.

The confusion amongst the tribes owing to these *Lifaqane* wars was very great indeed,

and the confusion amongst most historians about them was equally so.

The first great wave of Zulu invaders which broke over the rampart of the Drakensberg in 1822, putting an end to several centuries of comparative peace, fell upon the Batlokoa of 'Ma Nthatisi, whose husband, Mokotjo, had died nine years before, while their eldest son Sekonyela was still a small boy. This first tribe in the Zulu Chief Pakadita's way having been dislodged, the Batlokoa and then other tribes fell on each other like so many nine-pins; and as each homeless tribe became almost destitute and practically without food, except for game and wild plants and their precious cattle, all the country between the Orange and the Molopo Rivers and beyond became a vast scene of warring tribes, contending with famine, death, and even cannibalism in the effort to secure food for their own people.

THE NAME MANTATEES

It was probably because the Batlokoa of 'Ma Nthatisi was the first tribe to be driven out onto other tribes, and partly because they were in any case fierce, quarrelsome people, more so than ever while homeless and starving, also because they were the only tribe ruled over by a woman, that the name 'Ma Nthatisi, which became the tribal name, acquired such terrifying fame. Samuel Rolland in writing of these happenings a few years afterwards said it was because those who were turned out and ruined by her shouted the news to their neighbouring tribes from mountain top to mountain top, as Basuto still do. This made all the tribes so apprehensive that any multitude appearing on the horizon was immediately mistaken for Mantatees, so that in due course 'Ma Nthatisi was blamed for all that was done later north of the Vaal by the Maphuting, the Bahlakoana and others, especially the Bataung under that old ravager Moletsane. Let it be stressed that the name Mantatees was taken by all historians to mean only the tribe of 'Ma Nthatisi, the Batlokoa.

Such historians were Theal, then Colonial Historiographer; Livingstone, Stow, Cory, Orpen, Andrew Smith, Broadbent, and others. Moffat wrote of the Mantatees: "They tell me I shall meet her, for they speak of her in the feminine."¹ Sir Godfrey Lagden wrote: "Mantatees is a new name for the Batlokoas", p. 65. In our own day Dr. Edwin Smith has written: "The Batlokoa, commonly known as Mantatees." The fearsome rumours which war engenders are one of its most shattering features; so that Robert Moffat said no man in his sane senses could swallow them all.²

The terror of weaker tribes, however, and the confusion about the names of tribes among the lonely colonists along the border, apparently made people excited enough to believe almost anything, for apart from rumours there were only the scantiest means of knowing what was happening at a distance. Not only was the ravaging done by the Batlokoa exaggerated beyond measure, but 'Ma Nthatisi's own stature and features were exaggerated out of all recognition. The tall, very handsome 'Ma Nthatisi, inclined to stoutness in middle age, affable, sociable and very popular with all her people,³ was said to be a terrible giantess with only one eye in the middle of her forehead. She was, too, a woman of great courage and devotion. Before her marriage she was of the Basia tribe. These qualities of hers must have stood out greatly amongst those surly and quarrelsome Batlokoa. No wonder that in due course she became the idol of her people. One example of her courage is mentioned on page 33 of *Basuto Traditions*. 'Ma Nthatisi had sent the fighting men to forage for grain for the children. While they were gone Pakadita's Zulus appeared again in the distance, coming on at a rapid pace. The situation was critical, but 'Ma Nthatisi saved it by collecting the cattle on the top of a steep rise and arranging the women and taller children in front of them, so as to make as imposing a show as possible. The plan succeeded, for when the Zulus saw them from a distance

they thought it was the fighting men on whose absence they had reckoned, and returned without making any attack.

We shall now proceed to give evidence proving unmistakably that 'Ma Nthatisi neither went north of the Vaal, nor was present at the battle of Dithakong.

By 1912 D. F. Ellenberger was convinced that the name Mantatees was being misapplied. In 1912, after fifty-one years with the Basuto, D. F. Ellenberger published the first two parts of his *History of the Basuto*. The third part is still waiting to be published. Before publishing it, he had been able to correct some of the mistakes about the Mantatees, including those in Broadbent's book in which the name Mantatees had been misapplied to the Bataung of Moletsane. But D. F. Ellenberger had been given the facts for his History from the chief Moletsane himself, who related to him those very things which he had seen and done before he ever set eyes on a white man, and which Broadbent had misapplied to 'Ma Nthatisi's Batlokoa. The facts showed convincingly that Moletsane was responsible for most of the damage done by Basuto north of the Vaal. This is corroborated by the *lithoko* (praise songs) of Moletsane.

Even at the time that the *History of the Basuto* was published D. F. Ellenberger had grave doubts about the Batlokoa of 'Ma Nthatisi having been at the battle of Dithakong on 26 June 1823. But he felt compelled, until he had what he called convincing proof, to accept the version recorded by such historians as Theal and Cory, who believed that 'Ma Nthatisi's Batlokoa were there at the same battle at which Moffat and Melville were with the Griquas. He had not time to prove, before the book went to press, what he felt sure was a mistake. He therefore asked his son René to find the proof and to correct in the Sotho History the mistake he had made in the English-French one.

¹ *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Basuto Traditions*, J. C. Macgregor.

'MA NTHATISI'S BATLOKOA NEVER
CROSSED THE VAAL

René Ellenberger was able to carry out his father's request. He found when he went to Leribe in north Basutoland in 1915, the home of the Maphuting, that all the information he got from old men of the Maphuting tribe was unanimous, that Tsooane, chief of the Maphuting,¹ was killed by Makulukama (Coloured people, Griquas) in a fearful fight beyond the Vaal River.

Whereas in the *Lithoko tsa Basotho* there is not a word in the praises of the Batlokoa chiefs to show that they conquered any tribes north of the Vaal River. He pointed out too that in *Basuto Traditions*, J. C. Macgregor makes no mention of the Batlokoa going beyond the Vaal during the *Lifaqane* wars. "It is as clear as daylight", says René Ellenberger, "that it was the Maphuting of Tsooane, and the Bahlakoana of Nkarahanye who were at the battle near Kuruman, and not as written by Theal, Cory and others, the Batlokoa of 'Ma Nthatisi."

René Ellenberger also wrote: "There is no denying that the Bafokeng of Sebetoane were pushed out of their country by the Batlokoa of 'Ma Nthatisi, but the pursuit did not go over the Vaal River and when the Batlokoa came back, a good few of them, mostly of a different branch of Batlokoa² than the one of Mokotjo ('Ma Nthatisi's late husband) joined Sebetoane in his heroic attempt at going north to find a country where he could live in peace." A larger extract from René Ellenberger's letter to the writer is given at the end of this article.

J. M. Orpen writes to Ellenberger: "You say you are on the trail of the Batlokoa; you mention their going to Mekuatleng, Boteta (?), Koesburg, Hanglip, Kububu, Mohalinyane, Jammerberg and from there to the Vaal River and over the Vaal, to Lithakong where they encountered Sebetoane in May 1823. Are you quite sure they did go across the Vaal at all or to Lithakong? Old

Mr. Rolland³ who lived over the Vaal for some time, told me it was *an absolute mistake on the part of Mr. Moffat and others to suppose that the fight near Lithakong was with Mantatisi, i.e. the Batlokoa*... In the whole of Dauma's paper there is nothing about the Batlokoa having once crossed the Vaal River."

The following piece of evidence not only exonerates 'Ma Nthatisi from being either in the Bechuanaland raids or at the invasion of Dithakong but distinctly states where she was at the time of those invasions.

J. C. Macgregor writing to his father-in-law D. F. Ellenberger says: "While on the subject of Mr. Stow's book I would like to indicate another point which, besides his very faulty genealogy, is worth the attention of an expert of leisure like Mr. Orpen, and that is the long and graphic chapter devoted to the Mantatisi."

J. C. Macgregor considered this chapter as faulty as Stow's genealogy, and he points out that "my story of the Batlokoa was got chiefly from two old men of Sekonyela who as lads accompanied Mantatisi in all her wanderings and they have no word of this raid in Bechuanaland which is most strange considering its magnitude and importance. On the contrary they describe Mantatisi as having gone southward to the line of the Caledon... But as regards this particular raid I think the alibi of Mantatisi and the Batlokoa is complete." *Basuto Traditions* (p. 34) says she went as far South as Nauwpoort.

Apparently owing to the confusion amongst the historians over the Mantatees, at one time the Batlokoa appeared to be in two places at the same time, i.e. north of Basutoland and south of Basutoland. It not being possible to be in two places at once, those in the north were labelled Mantatees and those in the south Marauders. This was unfortunate, for the statement that 'Ma Nthatisi was in the north was one of the inaccuracies which caused the Mantatees muddle

¹ Tsooane or Tswane is the Bantu name for Pretoria which was the original home of these Maphuting and of other Basuto tribes.

² Possibly those Batlokoa called Malakeng. See ELLENBERGER and MACGREGOR, page 40.

³ Samuel Rolland of Motito, Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Beersheba, Basutoland, was a missionary of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society in South Africa from 1829 to 1873. One of his daughters married J. M. Orpen.

which both these Ellenbergers, father and son, with others, were eventually able to clear up.

In a later letter J. C. Macgregor, at one time Resident Commissioner of Bechuanaland Protectorate, mentions a conversation with old Gaborone, then Chief of the Batlokoa of Bechuanaland Protectorate:¹ "The great point anthropologically, in what he told me, was his ignorance of the Quabi (wild cat), the well-known *seboko* of the Batlokoa. That is conclusive evidence of his non-connection with the Batlokoa of Sekonyela and Mantatisi, and if they ever came filibustering into Bechuanaland, even as far as they are said to have come, he must have known about it."

This concludes the evidence proving 'Ma Nthatisi's alibi.

To write of the Bafokeng of Sebetokane, the Maphuting of Tsooane, the Bahlakoana of Nkharahanye and the Bataung of Moletsane as Mantatees² at any time, but especially while they were north of the Vaal, is not only confusing, but is inaccurate history, especially now that we know that she never crossed the Vaal at all.

'Ma Nthatisi herself would be astonished at Sebetokane's ancient tribe of Bafokeng being called "of the Mantatisi tribe". Her great, great, great grandson, Felix Sekonyela (quite a historian himself), would be equally so.

As for Sebetokane and his friend Moletsane, and Moletsane's friend, Ellenberger, and Ellenberger's son and son-in-law, and his friend Orpen, they would surely demand that we continue the good work of exploding the Mantatee³ myth.

THE BATTLE OF DITHAKONG

There was only one battle at Dithakong at which Griquas and Koranas intervened. The aforementioned letters, proving that 'Ma Nthatisi never fought the Batlhaping at Dithakong, now

show also that the Griquas and Koranas coming to the help of the Batlhaping only intervened at *one* battle at Dithakong, not in two battles as described in Ellenberger and Macgregor, firstly on pages 137 and 307, and secondly on page 139. So the battle described on pages 137 and 307 is really one and the same battle as that on page 139.

René Ellenberger's notes in my copy of Ellenberger and Macgregor point out that on reading pages 137 and 307 one must now read the names Maphuting and Bahlakoana in place of Batlokoa wherever the word Batlokoa occurs. So until such time as all the Ellenberger researches are published, it would appear that this battle began on 24th June 1823 between the Maphuting of Tsooane and Sebetokane's Bafokeng; after which the Bahlakoana of Nkarahanye arrived. Finally, it became a four cornered fight on 26th June when a force arrived on the scene, composed of Griquas, Koranas, and Batlhaping with whom were Moffat and Melville. This force came out to repulse the invaders and to prevent them reaching Kuruman.

According to the then historians who believed that 'Ma Nthatisi's Batlokoa were at Dithakong, there seemed to be a certain amount of evidence that there were two battles at Dithakong. Firstly, one between 'Ma Nthatisi's Batlokoa and Sebetokane, dispersed by the Griquas, Koranas, and Batlhaping, at which Moffat and Melville were present³; then a second battle at which the Maphuting of Tsooane and the Bahlakoana of Nkarahanye too were dispersed by Griquas and Batlhaping, but at which there is no mention of the presence of Moffat and Melville (p. 139). Probably the reason why there is no mention of Moffat and Melville in the second battle, on page 139, is that Setaki (the son of the chief Nkarahanye who was killed there), had never seen a white man at the time of that battle and so

¹ These Batlokoa of the Bechuanaland Protectorate must not be confused with those to the south-east. The latter had hived off from the older branch about 100 years before and lived in what is now the Districts of Wakerstroom and Harrismith, having split up into three lots there (ELLENBERGER and MACGREGOR, p. 40).

² The words Mantatees and Matebele are not synonyms. Mantatees, as we have seen, means 'Ma Nthatisi's Batlokoa. Matebele is from *ho tebella*, to drive before or to pursue, and means invaders. Bantu history is not

only for Europeans. The descendants of the people in this history know the meanings of these words. For the Bechuana to call the Maphuting of Tsooane or Sebetokane's Bafokeng "Matebele from Basutoland" was not entirely incorrect. But it was confusing, because the Basuto had originally given that name to the Zulu or Nguni people of Pakadita, Matuoane and Moselekatse from beyond the Drakensberg.

³ ELLENBERGER and MACGREGOR, p. 137 and 307.

in relating the details of the battle to D. F. Ellenberger afterwards, did not realize that there had been two kindly disposed white men amongst those terrifying Griquas that were killing them from a distance ; ¹ just as the Chief Moletsane never realized that Moffat was with the Griquas when he related to Ellenberger the details of the fight against Sifunelo near the Molopo River. ² Setaki had never seen horses or guns either, before this battle of Dithakong. Evidently an old man called Abraham, the son of "le vieux Klaas" whose elders were all killed by the Griquas at Dithakong, also described this battle to D. F. Ellenberger.

(The date on page 137, March 1823, is an error apparently taken from Andrew Smith's *Diary*, Vol. 1, page 359, because further on, on page 307, Ellenberger gives the right date : June 1823.)

It may be some time before the Ellenberger material is published, so, one can but try tentatively to reconstruct, however roughly, from information we have at present, what happened in these troubled invasions. The errors that there are sure to be, may bring forth further information from other researches.

These letters and notes do not say definitely that Sebetoane was or was not at Dithakong. Livingstone says Sebetoane was there. He was evidently told this by Sebetoane himself. So if my memory serves correctly that one should use the names Maphuting and Bahlakoana in place of Batlokoa, and according to the letters copied herein, the sequence of events would appear to have been somewhat as follows :

When the Zulus of Pakadita (Matebele) attacked 'Ma Nthatisi's Batlokoa, she fled, and fell on the Bafokeng of Patsa and drove them from their homes on Kurutlele Mountain where they had lived for centuries. The Bataung of Mophethe and his son Moletsane, who lived just beyond these Bafokeng and were friends of theirs, did not wait to be attacked by 'Ma Nthatisi, but fled, taking everything, even the poles and mats of their houses. The Bafokeng of Patsa wandered

about for some time, during which the eldest son of the Chief was killed by lions. His brother Sebetoane who succeeded to the chieftainship was only nineteen or twenty years old at the time. He led his people across the Vaal and there rejoined another large section of this ancient tribe of theirs who had been driven out by the Bataung of Moletsane. He rejoined other Bafokeng as well, who had been driven out by these very Batlokoa who had ruined him and his people. Considering the deference that the Bantu pay to age, Sebetoane must have been a most outstanding man to have been able, in spite of his youth, to inspire so much confidence as to have been joined by other sections of the Bafokeng, who with their chiefs came under his rule, and by people of other tribes as well, including Bahlakoana and others. In his wanderings northward, he "severely handled" ³ the Bahurutshe at Kurrichueneng (Kadishwene), and then from there made his way to Dithakong where he was resting. He probably arrived there about 20 June 1823. The Batlhaping (or Ba-ga-Maidi) ⁴ whose home it was, had all fled at his approach.

Here we have to digress to show that when Sebetoane fled across the Vaal, after 'Ma Nthatisi had ruined him and his tribe, his friends and neighbours the Bataung of Mophethe and Moletsane also fled, and after pillaging and ruining other tribes they followed more or less behind Sebetoane. Meanwhile the Bataung also made for Kurrichueneng (which Sebetoane had just left) where lived their relatives the Bahurutshe. They had always kept in touch with them, and hoped to find refuge among them. "The Bahurutshe drove back their brethren of the Bataung, and out of this arose many and disastrous wars," ⁵ during which Moletsane ravaged up and down the country for many years. Some years after these terrible wars of Moletsane, the Rev. Lemue of the P. E. M. S. became one of the missionaries of the Bahurutshe, and was told by their Chief Mokhatla of Moletsane's doings. The Rev. Lemue wrote an account of

¹ *Idem*, p. 139

² *Idem*, 186 ; no mention of Moffat who was there.

³ ELLENBERGER and MACGREGOR, p. 165.

⁴ *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, page xvi.

⁵ ELLENBERGER and MACGREGOR, p. 165.

them to the *Journal des Missions Évangéliques de Paris* (1840, p. 403) which is now in the Society's archives in Paris. We believe that this account sheds considerably more light on the doings of Moletsane and of the other invaders as well. It is possible that during those invasions north of the Vaal Moletsane and Sebetoane kept each other informed of events as far as possible, which would appear a very natural thing to do because, besides having been friends and neighbours, they had married sisters.

We will now return to where Sebetoane was resting. Evidently the large village of Dithakong, the home of the Batlhaping, or those associated with them, where they practised considerable industries in the manufacture of karosses, wooden utensils, iron implements, arms and ornaments, was well known in that country, and acted as a sort of magnet to these uprooted, warring and starving tribes, who expected plenty of food and cattle in a village that apparently had the reputation of being large, busy and rich. For while Sebetoane was resting at Dithakong the Maphuting of Tsooane arrived there too, probably about 23 June 1823, followed closely by the Bahlakoana of Nkarahanye. The immense tribe of the Maphuting, who were friends and cousins of the Batlokoa, was then under two chiefs, Tsooane (Moffat's Chuane) and Tsooane's nephew Ratsebe. Ratsebe was accounted the greatest chief of his day. It was said of him, "where the army of Ratsebe passed the grass ceased to grow". They were friends and cousins not only of Sebetoane's enemies, the Batlokoa of 'Ma Nthatisi (who were of the Bamokotleng branch), but also of her rival branch, the Bamokhaleng Batlokoa and others, some of whom had accompanied the Maphuting on this expedition. (Incidentally a number of them deserted after the battle and followed Sebetoane.) These Maphuting appear to have passed through the Barolong town of Khunwana on their way to Dithakong, because after the battle of Dithakong several women who had come from this town of the Barolong "inquired¹ for Chaane, whom they supposed yet before them", not realizing

that Chaane (Tsooane, Chief of the Maphuting) had been killed. The Maphuting evidently tried to seize all they could from the Barolong at Khunwana, before going on to do the same from the Batlhaping at Dithakong and probably meaning too to go on to Kuruman, with the special intention of carrying off corn, cattle and everything they could lay hands on to feed their starving multitude of men, women, and children; they must have been intensely annoyed and enraged at finding that Sebetoane had got there first.

The battle of Dithakong between the Maphuting and Sebetoane's Bafokeng appears to have been rather undecisive. No doubt they were fighting over the cattle of the Batlhaping as well as those of Sebetoane. Sebetoane captured some booty from the Maphuting, as well as a number of prisoners, among them a young widow of those Batlokoa that were with Tsooane. Rumour has it that this woman was of the Makollo tribe,² by which name Sebetoane's people came to be known. The Maphuting captured some of Sebetoane's cattle and they were also responsible for most of the losses sustained by the Batlhaping. Early the following morning, probably 25 June, as the Maphuting were preparing to leave and Sebetoane too was about to depart for the north, the Bahlakoana of Nkarahanye arrived on the scene, with the same intention as the other tribes of making off with the Batlhaping cattle at Dithakong and then probably on to Kuruman. No wonder Moffat mentions, more than once, the great confusion amongst these people. Ellenberger says the Bahlakoana were most enraged at seeing the Maphuting making off with so great a number of cattle, and set about finding some for themselves. They did indeed succeed in capturing some cattle of the Batlhaping, and were going off joyfully with them; but, at this juncture, the Griqua chief Waterboer and between about sixty to ninety mounted Grikwas, armed with guns, together with Mothibe with 2,000 of his Batlhaping, arrived on the scene. This was owing to Moffat's great courage and tireless efforts to collect them, and bring them

¹ *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*, p. 107.

² ELLENBERGER and MACGREGOR, p. 307.

there in time to repel the invasion of the Batlhaping country. Robert Moffat and the Government agent Melville were there too in order to encourage the cowardly Batlhaping with their presence.

This force of Griquas, Batlhaping, Moffat and Melville, on arrival found the country black with great multitudes which they estimated at about 40,000 to 50,000 persons. Some were following their people in great confusion but without haste, some were flying, some pursuing, some pillaging. Before taking their departure the Maphuting set fire to the town. Although it was the Maphuting who were responsible for most of the losses sustained by the Batlhaping, most of these Maphuting managed to get away with their booty, though their chief Tsooane was among those who were killed. They did not make for the Vaal River, but, after the tribes dispersed from Dithakong, they turned off in the direction of where Mafeking now stands. Apparently even in the midst of the great confusion which was going on at Dithakong, the core of each tribe was the cattle, with the women and children round them; that is those of them who were strong enough to keep up with the tribe. This core was the very heart of things, composed of their only means of subsistence, their cattle, and also their wives and little ones. The women themselves anxiously and ferociously helped to keep the cattle together; for the loss of the cattle meant the starvation of their children and their parents. The men formed a living, constantly moving wall around them. It was not possible to entice the men far from this heart of things. They closed in around it at once on the least sign of danger. Apparently the unfortunate latest arrivals to the battle field, the Bahlakoana, acted more or less as a sort of buffer between the Griquas and the Maphuting, and also between the Griquas and Sebetoane who was further afield beyond the Maphuting. The Bahlakoana had never seen guns or horses before, and in their terror they imagined that horse and man were one beast with two heads, the smaller of which spat fire and killed them from a distance. Evidently the Griquas charged towards them,

and the Bahlakoana broke and fled. There was no longer any living wall around the mothers and babies, and the cries of the infants could be heard above the din of battle. In those days the cattle were not herded by small boys but were in the charge of, and herded by, grown men, and these men had the cattle highly trained to stampede homewards at the sound of a special song of alarm. René Ellenberger told me that certain individual oxen who were good leaders, and quick at starting off a homeward stampede "were worth their weight in gold". The Griquas must have had a long chase before collecting the stampeding cattle. "The cowardly Batlhaping, who had no stomach for the fight before, now flung themselves on those left behind, on the wounded, and such of the women and children who were too weak to follow the retreat. It was with the utmost difficulty that Messrs. Moffat and Melville were able to save some of these helpless ones; they dashed about on horse-back from side to side getting between the savages and their victims. The unfortunate women, seeing a chance of protection bared their breasts saying: 'See we are women.' These gentlemen collected a large number of these poor creatures and took them to Kuruman to save their lives."¹

Ellenberger says that the Griquas pursued the Bahlakoana right to the Vaal, which had risen since they crossed it, so that those who were not killed by Griqua guns perished in the waters. Probably some of the Griquas did so, while others returned sooner to Kuruman with the cattle. No wonder that Abraham, son of Klaas, whose family perished in the Vaal, could not tell Ellenberger about it without tears in his eyes. All the cattle of the Bahlakoana, as well as those they had taken from the Batlhaping, were captured by the Griquas. Few of the Bahlakoana escaped; those who did took refuge with Adam Kok at Philipolis. Among these was Setaki, the son of the chief Nkarahanye who was killed. It was from Setaki that Ellenberger first got the story of this disaster. Setaki (and probably Sebetoane, too) had no idea that there were two kindly disposed white men amongst those two headed

¹ ELLENBERGER and MACGREGOR, p. 138.

beasts which annihilated his tribe, any more, evidently, than Moffat knew about Sebetokane being there; for Moffat does not mention Sebetokane. Probably he came to know about Tsoane and Nkarahanye only when people told him they had both been killed.

CONCLUSION

1. *Sebetokane's* movements, after the battle of Dithakong, on his way to the Zambezi, are well noted.

2. *The Maphuting*. If I understood René Ellenberger correctly, these Maphuting remained in the vicinity of what is now Mafeking for about four months after the battle of Dithakong. Then they went south and joined themselves to their friends and cousins the Batlokoa of 'Ma Nthatisi.

3. *The Bahlakoana of Nkarahanye* were practically annihilated at the battle of Dithakong.

4. *The Bataung of Moletsane*. As for Moletsane and his Bataung they ravaged up and down for about two years. They were no sooner back home in what is now the Orange Free State, than they were chased out again; this time, according to Ellenberger, by Moselekatse. So, they sallied forth once more north of the Vaal on their ravaging. They were men of immense courage, as incidents on pages 174 and 175 of Ellenberger relate.

As for 'Ma Nthatisi, whose name and features have been so misused, she died at Yualaboholo at the same time as her unmarried daughter, Makhaphelo, shortly before the Batlokoa were raided by those very Bataung of Moletsane whose misdeeds had all been piled onto 'Ma Nthatisi's name.

There is a good account of *Moletsane* (written originally by D. F. Ellenberger) in *Basuto Traditions*. He died on 2 October 1885, at the age of about a hundred years, having become just as remarkable a Christian as he had been a warrior.

APPENDIX I

Extracts of a letter from René Ellenberger to his Niece

JOHANNESBURG,
5 April 1953.

".....

Now, for your questions about the *Batlokoa*. It would take me days to answer fully your questions. I shall try to give you as shortly as possible what I know.

(a) First of all I want to point out that I wish I could find out where the name Mantatees came from, to designate hordes of marauding natives. As it was taken by all historians to mean the tribe of 'Ma Nthatisi = the Batlokoa, and consequently all historians including Theal, Cory, and others, consider that the Batlokoa went as far up as the border of Bechuanaland. Now if you read accounts of what was going on, south of Basutoland, at the very same time when the Batlokoa were said to be devastating north of

Basutoland, the invading hordes on the border of the Colony were also called Mantatees. How could it be the Batlokoa on both sides ?? Neither Theal nor Cory have called the southern invaders Batlokoa as they knew full well that you cannot be on two sides at the same time. Why do they translate Mantatees by 'Batlokoa' in the history of tribes north of Basutoland and then translate 'Mantatees' by 'Marauders' south of Basutoland ?? ?

Read the *Lithoko tsa Basotho* and you will not find a word in the praises of the Batlokoa chiefs to show that they conquered any tribe north of the Vaal River. This, to anyone who knows the Natives, is the proof that they never did. Grandfather in his history has corrected quite a good bit of the facts given by historians, in so far as he found out most convincingly that the Bataung

of Moletsane were responsible for most of the damage done by Basuto north of the Vaal River, and although books of the time say that the *Mantatees* invaded the Bangwaketsi's territory and went to Pitsane (on the Molopo River) he has put it correctly that it was the Bataung who went there, that they (the Bataung) played havoc among the Barolong, etc., and if you read the *Liithoko* of Moletsane you find out quickly that this is perfectly true as he boasts of his victories over Sefunelo (the chief of the Barolong): E ka re u jela tlung, Sefunelo, oa re u ka lebanya thebe le mang? Lebanya thebe le 'Ma-Batho-botho, etc. If you read Moffat's *Labours and Scenes in South Africa*, you will find (see page 414 and following) that those Bataung hordes are called Mantatees !!! Again if you read Samuel Broadbent's *A narrative of the first introduction of Christianity amongst the Barolong*, you will find (page 63 and many others) that the invaders are called Mantatees, whereas there is not the least doubt about it that they were the Bataung, as Moletsane himself related in full particulars to grandfather the destruction of the missionary station of Maquassi by his hordes and described the explosion of the pistol and of the bag of the gunpowder long before grandfather found the facts explained in Broadbent's book.

There is no denying that the Bafokeng of Sebe-toane were pushed out of their country by the Batlokoa of 'Ma Nthatisi, but the pursuit did not go over the Vaal River and when the Batlokoa came back a good few of them mostly of a different branch than the one of Mokotjo ('Ma Nthatisi's late husband) joined Sebe-toane in his heroic attempt at going north to find a new country where he could live in peace. Grandfather has certainly made a mistake here, as he says the pursuit went on north of the Vaal and that the huge horde half destroyed by the Griquas of Waterboer near the missionary station of Moffat (Kuruman) was the Batlokoa and Bafokeng tribes (see pages 137 and 138). Moffat calls the horde 'Mantatees' (see Chapter XXI of his book, also Chapter XXII in which he says that the two chiefs (page 360) Chuane and Karaganye were killed). Now look at the genealogical tables of

the chiefs of tribes of the Batlokoa and of the Bafokeng and you will find no names such as the two given by Moffat, who was an eye witness and who, having rescued many of the poor stragglers, could not but have most accurate information.

The immense tribe of the Maphuting had two powerful chiefs called Ra-Tsebe and Tsooane. Look in grandfather's book, page 351 ; at the year 1765 you have :

Mohlaloli

Motsoane II

Ratsebe (alias Keketsi)

This ought to read :

Mohlaoli

Motsoane II & Tsooane

Ratsebe (alias Qekisi)

Now read in grandfather's book, middle of page 139, a short account of 'Another clan of Maphuting' and of 'Bahlakoana of Nkarahanye' . . . the name of the chief of the Maphuting is not given, but we have every possible reason of thinking that it was Tsooane (called Chuane by Moffat) and as for *Nkarahanye*, there is no doubt that it is the *Karaganye* of Moffat . . . Moffat emphasizes (pages 360 and 361) that the two hordes never helped one another . . . Read grandfather's page 139 again and you will see that they had no reason whatever to help each other as they were of perfectly different tribes, and according to Moffat it is those of Karaganye who bore the worse of the fight ; whereas, according to father, they had so far made no wrong in the country of the Batlhaping, the Maphuting of Tsooane alone being responsible for the losses sustained by the Batlhaping.

Consequently, and as clear as daylight, it was the *Maphuting of Tsooane* and the *Bahlakoana of Nkarahanye* who were unmercifully destroyed near Kuruman, under the name of Mantatees,

and *not* as written by Theal, Cory and others the *Batlokoa* of 'Ma Nthatisi. Another proof is that all the information I have got, taken in 1915 at Leribe, is unanimous among the old Maphuting that Tsooane was killed by the 'Makulukama' (= Coloured people = Griquas) in a fearful fight beyond the Vaal River.

Again, if you read in *Basutoland Records*, Vol. I, page 517, a long statement written by the Rev. Daumas on behalf of the chief Moletsane, you will find this: 'It was about that time that *Tsuane*, Chief of the *Bafokeng* (who were improperly confounded with the Mantatis) with his wild and warlike hordes devastated the interior and were defeated near old Lattakoo by the Griquas.' Old Lattakoo is the name of the first Kuruman station; the pity is that Mr. Daumas, knowing nothing of the Basuto History, misunderstood Moletsane, or else, wanting to cut short the very long statement of the old chief, instead of speaking of the *Bafokeng* of Sebetoane who first passed through the interior going to the Zambesi, and then of the Maphuting of *Tsooane* who came afterwards and were defeated by Waterboer near Kuruman, mixed up things and spoke of the *Bafokeng* of Tsooane. There has never been a Mofokeng Chief called Tsooane.

Anyhow I cannot go on, it takes too long of my time, and this ought to be enough to answer the questions you put in your letter, at any rate for to-day. I must add that grandfather was plainly convinced by the above and asked me to correct, in the Sesotho History the mistake he had made in the French-English one. He told me that he had great doubts about the matter, but had not time to find out how he could go against the usual version of the battle of Dithakong (near Kuruman), as this would require ample proofs to contradict such historians as Theal, etc.

.....

(Signed) R. ELLENBERGER."

D. F. Ellenberger, writing at the age of 82, points out the reasons why other Basuto tribes never went to raid the Bathaping. He says the Baphuti of Moorosi did not go because their field of activity was the Bathepu or Tembus. The Bamonaheng did not go for they had too much to do coping with the Mahlubi and Mankoana, even the invaders from Natal the Matebele of Moselekatse did not raid the Bathaping. There were really only the Maphuting and the Bahlakoana who raided the Bathaping, and they were made to pass as Mantatees.

APPENDIX II

Dr. Edwin Smith's review of "Apprenticeship at Kuruman"

In April 1952 *Africa* published Dr. Edwin Smith's review of *Apprenticeship at Kuruman* (edited by I. Schapera), in which Dr. Smith says:

"One of the minor problems of Tswana History is the identity of the invaders . . . at the Battle of Dithakong in 1823. . . Dr. Schapera draws the inference that the people defeated at Dithakong were not the Batlokwa of MmaNtatisi, they were Maphuting and Bahlakoana."

On page 103 of *Apprenticeship at Kuruman* Moffat says prisoners told him "they are not Mantatees but that numerous and powerful tribes of that name are infesting the interior"

Professor Schapera points out in a footnote that that makes it clear that the people defeated at Dithakong were not the Batlokoa of MmaNtatisi. (Incidentally all this is yet another proof that Mantatees did not mean just any marauding tribe. Moffat's writings last century gave historians the impression that he thought the invaders were Mantatees.)

On reading this in *Africa*, I wrote at once to tell Dr. Edwin Smith of the result of the researches undertaken by René Ellenberger at his father's request, 38 years ago, and that the fact that Professor Schapera working from a different angle, had found the same result was a further

proof that D. F. Ellenberger had been right when he had grave doubts, on publishing his book in 1912, as to the facts recorded by historians.

There is one difference though between the Ellenberger-Macgregor-Orpen finding and that of Professor Schapera. Professor Schapera finds that 'Ma Nthatisi was not at the battle of Dithakong, whereas the aforementioned writers found that she and her Batlokoa were not even north of the Vaal.

In *Africa*, October 1952, Dr. Edwin Smith mentions the Ellenberger research and says :

"The importance of the battle has been recognized by historians. In the light of this information a revision of Professor Walker's standard *History of South Africa*, at page 182, and of Professor MacMillan's section of *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. VIII, p. 302, is necessary. It is to be hoped that René Ellenberger's collected material will be published, as well as that which his father left for another volume of his history."

Dr. Smith also asks the question :

"Since we can no longer accept the presence of Batlokwa at Dithakong, we want to know in what relation Sebetoane stood to the Maphuting and Bahlakoana. Did he arrive there independently of these or in their company as part of the invading horde?"

Until the Ellenberger researches of many years ago are published, Dr. Edwin Smith's question cannot be answered with any great degree of confidence ; but meanwhile the above attempt has been made to reconstruct the invasion by four Basuto tribes in 1823 of what is now Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Transvaal, and to show what was the relationship of Sebetoane to the Maphuting and the Bahlakoana. Had those researches been published in 1915, the revisions mentioned above by Dr. Edwin Smith would not now be necessary, and the memory of 'Ma Nthatisi would have been left to rest in peace on Yoalaboholo¹ where it was given her to die before the downfall of her son and the people she had served and loved so well.²

¹ *History of the Basuto* says she died on Kooaneng, and *Basuto Traditions* says on Yoalaboholo. Both mountain fastnesses belonged to the Batlokoa then.

These table mountains are so close together that people on the one may talk to people on the other without very great effort. ² ELLENBERGER and MACGREGOR.

KONKOMBA FRIENDSHIP RELATIONS

DAVID TAIT*

SYNOPSIS

The relations discussed are dyadic, symmetrical relations of amity between individuals of the same sex. Of the five relations discussed, four arise from kinship ties and are obligatory ; the fifth, friendship proper, is a voluntary relation.

The Konkomba system is one of small, segmented, agnatic clans. Four kinds of group relation unite clans and serve to mitigate hostility between them. At the level of personal relations ties of amity, like those of matrilateral kinship, serve to reduce hostility and help to obviate fights. The relations are: naabo, that between children of one woman; taabo, that between children of one man ; nabo, that between children of the women of one clan ; nato, that between men married to clan-sisters ; and dzo, man speaking, or nakwoo, woman speaking, friend.

The naabo tie is stronger and warmer than taabo but both imply reciprocal rights and duties while nabo and nato do not. The basic relation is seen to be naabo which is extended on the principle of the unity of the lineage to give rise to those of nabo and nato. The relation of friendship is the only voluntary one though it is linked with the lover relationship, bwa, the only voluntary relationship between men and women. Friendship often gives rise to marriages and so creates kinship ties which in turn give rise to the relations of amity. All these relationships range widely to cross the boundaries of lineage, clan and tribe.

IN THIS paper I am concerned with dyadic relations between individuals. The relations I discuss are symmetrical : by that I mean that the obligations of one person are the same as the reciprocal obligations of his partner. These relations are not joking partnerships nor are they joking relationships. Goody (1952) emphasized a distinction between these two forms of relationship : a joking partnership arises from a relation between groups, whereas a joking relationship holds between individuals who stand in kinship categories to each other. The joking partnership implies important reciprocal ritual services and it is cathartic in Griaule's sense of "alliance cathartique" (Griaule, 1948). Nor are these relations of the same nature as blood-brotherhood (e. g. Evans-Pritchard, 1933).

Another form of friendship was discussed by Radcliffe-Brown (1949) : it is found in the Andamans and in southern Australia and is one in which two boys who are initiated together or born within a day or two of each other into different hordes do not speak to each other. This link Radcliffe-Brown called "friendship".

The relations of amity with which I am concerned are all relations between two persons who help each other in many situations, not merely in ritual ones. By relations of amity I shall mean any form of friendship between two persons. Amity, however, may be voluntary : that is, the two friends may be such by an act of choice. Or the amity may be non-voluntary : that is to say that the relationship is not entered into voluntarily but is ascribed to the two persons by kinship. These two modes of friendship include the total range of dyadic, reciprocal relations of amity between individuals which vary

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from the tie between uterine siblings to that between men who were once total strangers. By the term "amity" I refer to the nature of the relation between two persons of the same or of different sex ; by "friendship" I mean only the voluntary relation of amity between individuals of the same sex.

In Konkomba men and women cannot be friends. They may be kin ; they may stand in a joking relationship ; they may be lovers ; otherwise they must be as strangers. Relations of friendship are therefore relations between people of the same sex.

A brief outline of the structure of the society in which these relations work is unavoidable (see Tait, 1953). The Konkomba live in northern Togoland in both French and British Mandated Territories and on the wide plain of the Oti River, a tributary of the Volta. The population density is low (under 10 to the square mile) and since the plain is severely flooded in the wet season, much of it cannot be cultivated. The small Konkomba agnatic clans, numbering not more than 300 souls, build their compounds along the ridges in the plain. The unit of political organization I call a clan and the unit of territorial organization I call a district. The clan is usually segmented into two, though not invariably two, major lineages ; the major lineages are segmented into minor lineages themselves segmented. When the two major lineages of a clan are contraposed, that is, when there is a division of political and ritual roles between the two lineages, then the clan is usually exogamous and members of one major lineage may not marry a member of the other. When the major lineages of a clan are not contraposed, the clan is not always exogamous and the members of the two major lineages may intermarry. Contraposition of lineages is rare. Some small clans have only one major lineage and such a unitary clan is always exogamous.

Clans are linked to each other in a tribal system. There are a number of criteria which define a clan but the most important one is this: between clans of the same tribe feud can be ended in a rite while between clans of different tribes occasional fighting is part of the endless

warfare between tribes. Within one tribe clans are linked by several kinds of link. Two clans may stand to each other as *mantotib*: that is, they are ritual partners. Two clans may stand to each other as parent and filial clans : that is, that at some time in the past, lineage fission has led to the location of a new clan not far from the parental one, and there are ritual ties between such clans. Both these relations inhibit feud between clans. Thirdly, any one clan has three or four clans that can be called its "kith". That is, there are many ties of neighbourliness, friendship and kinship between them and also a ritual link in that they attend each other's rites. While kithship does not inhibit feud between clans, it makes feud unlikely since between kith a rite can prevent the development of feud even after a homicide.

Thus one clan stands in close relations of ritual co-operation or kithship with not more than six other clans and in relations of potential or perennial hostility to all other clans.

The isolation of the agnatic clan is reduced by ties of *manto*, common descent, kithship and membership of a common tribe. This isolation is further reduced on the level of relations between individuals by the ties of matrilateral and affinal kinship. It is further reduced again by the ties of involuntary amity that arise from certain kinship categories and by the voluntary links of friendship.

There are five kinds of friendship relation between men to be considered. Of these the first is that which unites the children of one mother : this is called *naabo*, that is, *na a bo*, literally "mother's child". Secondly, there is that link between children of one father : this is called *taabo*, that is, *te a bo*, literally "father's child". Thirdly, there is the link between sons of women of the same clan : this is called *nabo*, that is, *na bo*, literally "mother child". Fourthly, there is the link between men who have married clan-sisters : this is called *nato*, a word for which there is no obvious translation. Fifthly, there is the term *dzo* which refers to men of two different clans who are friends.

Women use the terms, or terms comparable to

those, given above. They use *naabo*, *taabo* and *nabo*; but where men use the term *nato*, women can stand in a comparable relation to each other which is called *juan*; and where men use the term *dzo*, women use *nakwoo*.

The term *naabo* (pl. *naabim*) denotes the closest tie between individuals known to Konkomba. It holds between two uterine brothers, sisters or between brother and sister and it implies the closest affection and reciprocal help. Sexual relations between members of one minor lineage are evil enough but between *naabim* they are unspeakable. Fortes (1945, pp. 200 ff., and 1949 at numerous places) discusses the *soog* tie among the Tallensi. *Soog* and *naabo* are closely similar concepts and indeed Konkomba and Tallensi are closely similar in culture. But Konkomba do not extend the relationship in the same way as do the Tallensi.

Naabim help each other in all activities. The closeness of the relation begins with their earliest memories since they have a privilege that is not extended even to their fathers: they may enter their mother's room in her absence. *Taabim* may not enter each other's rooms; the only occasion on which a person may enter the room of his mother's co-wife is for a rite in the room of the senior wife of the compound. He only enters then as it were by invitation. It is in the mother's room that *naabim* keep their most cherished possessions. They are the children of that room (*kedig*) and, with their half-brothers and -sisters they are also the children of one house (*do*).¹ It is to the *naabo* that a young man or woman first looks for assistance in love affairs, payment of bride service or in any undertaking; they share common ritual obligations to their matrilineal kin. The Konkomba household is not large and on the death of the head of a household the sons seldom stay together in one house. But when they do, they tend to be *naabim*. On the other hand hamlet fission is frequent among Konkomba and the groups of brothers who move out to settle elsewhere are often *naabim*.

Second only to the tie of *naabim* in importance

and warmth of feeling comes that between *taabim* (s. *taabo*), children of one father. This close tie operates in all the contexts in which that of *naabo* does, but it acts less markedly. There is good reason why this should be so since the children are separated from earliest infancy into distinct rooms, organized around different women. *Taabim* do often, in fact, move together from their natal hamlets to settle elsewhere and this is facilitated by the fact that they have a common father who, though dead, is their intermediary to the more remote ancestors.

But there is one very marked difference between *naabim* and *taabim*. It is possible and it sometimes happens, that the grand-children of *taabim* may marry. It is rare, of course, but it is condoned on the grounds that the married pair do not spring from "one room"; their common ancestor was a man, not a woman, and at no known point in their common ancestry has the *naabo* tie occurred.

The relation is the same in both these relationships – between two men, two women or between a man and a woman except, of course, that the help given by *naabim* varies with the sex of the helper and the helped. But the contexts in which help is given do not necessarily vary. In any case, the binding compulsory nature of the response to the tie between the two persons does not change; nor does its warmth and affection.

Nabo (pl. *nabim*), literally mother child, is primarily the term applied to the children of the mother's sister. The mother's elder sister is called *nakper*, mother's older sibling or possibly older mother, while the mother's younger sister is called *nawa*. Unlike *nakper*, which implies a respect relationship, *nawa* implies a joking relationship. Further, *nawa* is extended to all women of the mother's clan younger than the mother. In turn, the term *nabo* is extended by men of men and by women of women to the child of a woman addressed as *nawa*, and indeed, to the child of any woman of the mother's clan.

Nabim do not owe each other help in their concerns and private affairs; there are no formal

¹ The effect of early conditioning on kinship extensions has been considered very fully by Fortes (1949)

and by others, e.g. Malinowski (1920), Radcliffe-Brown (1924), and by Evans-Pritchard (1932).

duties implied by the relationship. All that is implied is amity. One can see two such men who have never before met, greeting each other with every appearance of high delight. One would take them for intimates meeting after a long separation. They do, of course, share common ritual duties to members of one clan since they have the same clan as their *umwetib*, mother's clan. But they owe each other no ritual duties.

The tie of *naabo* and *taabo* links ever more closely people who are already of necessity linked in clanship. (*dejo*, clansman, man speaking, *nindza*, woman speaking). This follows from the strict application of rules of widow inheritance, because widows never pass out of the minor lineage of the late husband. The link between *nabim* is usually, though not invariably, one between persons of different clan and it is thought of as such a link since the ties of closer kinship override the more distant ones where they overlap. That *naabim* are, in fact, usually of different clan arises from the rules governing marriage which, in effect, disperse the women of a clan widely among other clans, often clans of a different tribe. The *nabo* link, then, is the first of the links of amity between individual members of different clans other than those arising from a group relationship or than the joking relationships. It is a tie that arises in matrilineal kinship. Put another way, a *nabo* is the child of a joking relative.

The link between two men who have married women of the same clan is called *nato* (pl. *natotib*). Like the children of women of the same clan they too owe ritual duties to the same clan and their children will be *nabo* to each other. Once again, as with *nabim*, there are no reciprocal rights and duties between *natotib*; they are simply men who, when chance brings them together, are compelled to behave to each other in a most friendly manner. The link is the result of affinal ties common to both men. Like *nabim*, *natotib* are usually of different clan and often of different tribe.

Women cannot be *natotib*. All women married into one clan, and especially the women married into one major lineage are *juan* (pl. *juantib*) to

each other. The term is best translated as co-wife. Here again, all co-wives are expected to behave in a friendly and co-operative way to each other and to assist each other with their children and in their household and farm work. Especially is this true of the co-wives of one man. While co-wives of one husband can be of the same clan it actually happens rarely enough and they can never, if the rules of marriage be strictly applied, be of the same house. Yet it is considered desirable that a married woman should have one or more clan-sisters living near her in her husband's district. It is noticeable that women who come from afar to their husbands' houses and who have no clan sister near, are, especially when they are young, rather lonely. The link between a woman and her fellow clanswoman married into the same clan is noticeably closer than that between a woman and her other co-wives. At the level of daily work there are no special rights and duties between such women; they are merely closer in amity than are ordinary co-wives. But on ritual occasions they are spoken of as *manto* to each other. A woman therefore uses this term *manto* in two ways: first, to refer to that clan that stands as *mantotib* to her own clan; and secondly, to refer to a clan-sister and co-wife in a ritual context. When a clan is to carry out a rite a representative of the *mantotib* clan must be present. Women, however, may marry far away and at such a distance that no one of her clan-*mantotib* could be present. The place of her clan-*mantotib* is therefore filled by her clan-sisters who are also co-wives. Where co-wives are also clan-sisters the friendliness and co-operativeness expected of all clan wives is intensified into a reciprocal ritual relation. This is a link that originates in agnation.

Fifthly and finally, there is simple friendship. The word for friend is *dzo* (pl. *dzotib*) between men and *nakwoo* (pl. *nakwotib*) between women. Men and women are never friends with each other. Yet friendship implies, to Konkomba, more than the surface amity that exists between *nabim* and *natotib*. While friendship does not imply ritual duties nor is it a cathartic relationship, yet, in any lengthy rite that requires a

heavy expenditure in foodstuffs and beer, material help is given between friends. Any man who is celebrating, for example, the Second Burial of his father, receives perhaps the bulk of the beer he distributes from his friends rather than from his agnates. Since all the Second Burial rites of a clan are carried out simultaneously, clearly clansmen cannot help each other. The material help comes therefore from matrilineal kin and from friends.

Women friends similarly help each other in providing corn for brewing when a woman has to send beer to the interment or Second Burial of a close agnatic kinsman.

Friendship usually arises between two men in the following way. One young man is carrying on or wishes to carry on a love affair with a girl of another clan. But all girls are betrothed in infancy and therefore love affairs may and sometimes do arouse the jealousy of a fiancé. In order then to cover the real reason for visiting his mistress' clan, a young man seeks out a contemporary in that clan and asks him to be his friend. But this friendship relation is not a mere cloak, in the end, for the love affair though it begins in that way, since the relation involves reciprocal help and may grow into a warm, enduring, even life-long association.

Similarly with girls who are friends. They usually enter into the relation in order to have a person in a lover's clan who can take a message for him. Indeed, one of a pair of friends is often the sister of the other's lover.

But friends do visit each other simply because they are friends. They meet on other than ritual occasions simply to see each other and to talk. They help each other in giving Bride Service. They go out visiting other places together; they meet in the markets. It is remarkable however, that no case came to my attention of friends going out of Konkombaland together to work on the southern yam farms or to go to unskilled labour in a town. Young men do go off to farm work together for short periods each year, but they go in groups of *onatshipwatotib*, that is, age-mates. The very occasional young man who goes far afield usually goes alone.

The relations of *dzo* and *nakwoo* are choice relations and do not necessarily arise from kinship though there is nothing to prevent, say, *nabim* from being also *dzotib*. They are voluntary relationships in that they are not ascribed by kinship though they are, by definition, relations other than kin relations. Yet they do often give rise to relations of affinal kinship. Especially may *dzotib* exchange daughters as wives either for each other or for their sons. One of the formal courtesies, indeed, for a man's wife to offer to his friend is: "I want to bear a child to give you (as a wife)."

Women friends cannot similarly exchange daughters nor can they marry the daughter of the one to the son of the other. This is because of the differential age of marriage for men and women in Konkomba; girls marry at about eighteen and men at about forty years of age. Yet a woman friend may give her daughter to a son of her friend's husband by a senior wife.

Friendship therefore often does lead back to affinal and thence to matrilineal kinship, and so completes a circle.

The importance of the relation of friendship is illustrated in the use of a special phrase for a broken friendship. *Kedzatig do* literally means "friendship finished", that is, the friends have quarrelled. Sometimes *kedzatig* alone is used to mean a parted friend. Similarly the phrase *keb-watig do* refers to lovers who have parted. A parted friend has to be distinguished from an enemy, *odi* (pl. *bedem*). Enmity is a group relation between clans.

The most common reason for a quarrel between friends is that one suspects that the other has revealed his love affair either to the husband of the girl or to another would-be lover. Since the girl is almost certainly carrying on at least one more love affair at the same time, occasions for jealousy and possibly suspicion of a friend are not infrequent. Similarly in a quarrel between two girls who were friends. I have no figures to indicate the frequency of such quarrels, but they may not be very frequent because Konkomba are aware of the tensions in the relation and they do not lightly enter into it. It is the would-be lover

who makes the first approach to a man of his mistress' clan. A man so approached usually considers the matter carefully before agreeing and refusals are common.

Friends are invariably men of different clan and sometimes they are of different tribe though they may, in fact, be *nabim* or *natotib* at the same time. These relations of amity - *nato*, *nabo* and *dzo* - help to reduce the isolation of the agnatic clan. They also help to reduce the incidence of fights and consequently of feud. Whereas, if a man get into a severe quarrel, his *naabo* and his *taabo* must come unquestioningly to his aid and so may precipitate a fight, his *nabo*, his *nato* and his *dzo* will do their utmost to compose the quarrel and so obviate a fight.

The groups of kin - clansfolk, mother's clan, wife's clan, along with the *mantotib* clan, parental/filial clan and the kith clans - exhaust the groups of Konkomba linked in amity. Other groups may be enemies. The links I have discussed above exhaust a Konkomba's individual links with persons of the same sex. All other persons are strangers, *betsham* (s. *otshā*). But the relation between strangers must not be confused with that between enemies. A stranger is a person to be treated with courtesy: he must be offered water and if there is food ready, he must be offered food. There is a phrase, *tshigr betsham*, which means "to behave inhospitably to strangers" and it is a term of strong disapproval.

There seem to be two possible ways of looking at these relations of amity as extensions of kinship relations. First we can consider three categories. If we regard as the primary cognatic tie that between parent and child, since the tie is unmediated through any third person, then that between siblings is secondary in that it is mediated through one person, a parent. Other persons are linked in ties of tertiary cognatic kinship in that they are related through two persons: first cousins are so related. These primary, secondary and tertiary cognatic ties can be either uterine or agnatic according to the sex of the persons forming the links.

Yet, between individuals other linkages of kinship occur that are mediated by two or more

persons and do not involve cognation. Thus, brothers-in-law are linked in a secondary affinal tie of kinship through the woman who is the wife of one and the sister of the other. This can be thought of as a secondary tie of affinal kinship if the primary affinal tie is that between husband and wife. A tertiary affinal tie is that between two men who marry sisters (cf. Radcliffe-Brown, 1950, p. 6).

In these senses we could describe the tie between *naabim* as a secondary uterine tie; that between *taabim* as a secondary agnatic one; and that between *nabim* is then a tertiary uterine link since it is mediated through two clan-sisters. In the English system of counting, such people would be classed as first, second and up to fifth cousins. It appears to be an extension of the *naabo* tie between two sisters. The tie between *natotib* is a tertiary affinal one and appears also to be an extension of that between sisters who are *naabim*.

The first two relationships, *naabo* and *taabo*, are then secondary and the other two, *nabo* and *nato*, are tertiary. *Dzo* and *nakwoo* are voluntary relations between persons and have no necessary relation with kinship. The relations of *dzo*, *nakwoo* and *bwa*, which transcend the boundaries of clan and kinship categories, may be considered together. The friendship relation *dzo* or *nakwoo* holds between men or women respectively while the lover relation, *bwa*, holds between men and women. In addition to transcending clan and kinship boundaries this relation also transcends certain boundaries which separate men from women. In Konkomba one may not take a lover in one's own minor lineage nor in the minor lineage of one's mother. A love affair with the wife of a man of one's clan would be incestuous. There are no other limitations except the rule that no person should have more than one lover in any one clan. All young men and women have several love affairs going at once. This lover relation, then, is the only voluntary one between the sexes. Even marriage is not a matter of choice since infant girls are betrothed to young men in an arrangement made by the parents of both. Once a girl marries into a line-

age she lives out her life as a wife of that lineage. Even to-day the number of runaway wives is small. It is true that some marriages do arise out of love affairs but they are remarkably few since they may cause fighting or even feud and always draw out some form of retaliation from the lineage that has lost a wife.

The classification given above does not very satisfactorily explain the genesis of the *nabo* and *nato* relations. The five relations of amity are, if looked at in another way, reducible to three. First, *naabo* and *taabo* are links created in birth and *nabo* and *nato* appear to be extensions of them. Secondly, *dzo* or *nakuwo* differs from the other four in that it is voluntary not compulsory.

Fortes (1949, p. 41 ff.) showed the lineal expansion of the *soog* relationship among the Tallensi through at least three generations in the female line from uterine sisters. All Konkomba structures are of lesser genealogical depth than are those of the Tallensi. Whereas the Tallensi maximal lineage goes to twelve generations depth, the longest Konkomba genealogy does not exceed six generations. The Tallensi kind of lineage expansion of the *soog* bond does not appear to occur among Konkomba. What does occur is some kind of lateral expansion.

The primary application of the term *nabo* is to the child of the mother's sister and this is in turn, primarily a uterine link since the two women are *naabim*. But, on the principle of the unity of the lineage the children of all one's mother's clan sisters are regarded as *nabo* and this is an agnatic extension because the women have all a common male ancestor not a female one. On the other hand it applies only to women and descends from these women to their children; that is, it is transmitted by uterine descent. There seems therefore to be a fusion of agnatic and uterine principles in the extension of kinship that creates the tie between *nabim*. It passes lineally by uterine descent and is extended laterally by agnation.

The relation called *nato* is not dissimilar. *Natotib* are the fathers of *nabim*. They are linked by affinal ties to women of one clan, women

linked to each other by agnation. But again, the primary link is between men married to sisters, especially to uterine sisters and the tie between the women is extended on the principle of the unity of the lineage to equate all women of the lineage and so to create the link between all men married to clan sisters.

It might be thought that the expansion of the *naabo* tie would occur in accordance with the principle of the equivalence of siblings. If this were so then the tie between *nabim* would hold only between children of women of the same generation and that between *natotib* would hold only between men married to women of the same generation. This might, indeed, be the case though I think not. If the relations between *nabim* and *natotib* are stratified by generation then it is by the generation of the persons who stand in such relations to each other. The simple relation of friendship is one that holds only between persons of approximately the same age. And, while there appears to be no rule that would prevent *nabim* and *natotib* of markedly disparate age from behaving in a friendly manner, their behaviour is also affected by their relative statuses. Between such persons there is amity but there is also seniority and juniority: this modifies the expression of amity.

Among Konkomba then, the ties of *naabo* and *taabo* are of the same generic kind and differ only in degree. Yet the *taabo* tie is the primary one that is extended lineally and laterally in agnatic kinship to give rise to the agnatic lineage and clan and so creates corporate groups. The *naabo* tie between sisters is the primary one that is extended lineally and laterally by agnatic kinship between women of one clan and transmitted lineally by uterine descent in the clans of the husbands of the women of one clan to give rise to the link between *nabim*. The affinal tie between a man and his wife is sister's husband and is similarly extended to link the husband in the *nato* tie to all men who have married a woman of his wife's clan. Thus the *naabo* tie gives rise to individual relations between persons in kinship categories and not to corporate groups.

The primary ties are *naabo* and *taabo* and they

work within the lineage framework. The extensions of *naabo* in the *nabo* and *nato* relation and the third relation of friendship range widely through Konkombaland to over-run the boundaries of clan and tribe. They express values in

some sense opposed to those of lineage and clan which often lead to fights and feuds. They offer points of amity in potentially or actually hostile regions.

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THE STRUCTURE OF THE DISYLLABIC TENSE SUFFIX IN COKWE

GUY ATKINS *

COKWE has four tenses with a disyllabic suffix, namely :

- (i) The *-a-anga* (earlier to-day past) tense.
- (ii) The *-a-ile* (remote past) tense.
- (iii) The negative *-a-ile* (zero time) tense.
- (iv) The negative *-a-ile* (remote and general past) tense.

The first of these suffixes, the *-anga* suffix, is invariable and does not need to be discussed any further.

The *-ile* suffix, belonging to three tenses of different tone pattern, appears in various guises. The shape of this suffix is chiefly determined by the quality of the preceding vowel and by the presence or absence of a pure nasal consonant in the radical. The rules are stated below under the three headings A, B, and C.

A. DISYLLABIC VERBAL BASES

1. When the radical vowel is *i*, *a*, or *u*, the suffix is *-ile* ; when *e* or *o*, it is *-ele*.

EXAMPLES :

- lil-* > *-lilile* (weep)
- lel-* > *-lelele* (bring up a child)

2. When the first or second consonant of the radical is a nasal or nasal + semi-vowel (*m*, *mi*, *mu*, *n*, *ni*, *nu*) the tense sign is *-ine* or *-ene*. The semi-vowels throughout this article are written *i* and *u* (not *y* and *w*).

EXAMPLES :

C1 nasal:

- mik-* > *-mikine* (place upright)
- miang-* > *-miangine* (flick, e.g. with tail)

- muang-* > *-muangine* (spill)
- neh-* > *-nehene* (bring)
- nieng-* > *-niengene* (tie tight)

C2 nasal:

- amu-* > *-amuine* (suck at breast)
- peni-* > *-peniene* (widen the gap between the incisors)

3. Nasal compounds (*nd*, *mb*, etc.) in the radical do not give rise to a nasal tense sign.

EXAMPLE :

- ngumb-* > *-ngumbile* (swing)

4. When the second radical consonant is an alveolar (other than *l*), palatalization occurs as follows :

t > *c*, *s* > *f*, *x* > *j*, *n* > *ni*, *nd* > *ndj*. These changes occur before *i*, not before *e*, that is when the suffix is *-ile* or *-ine*, not when it is *-ele-* or *-ene*.

EXAMPLES :

- hat-* > *-hacile* (hammer)
- has-* > *-hafile* (be able)
- haz-* > *-hajile* (be in two minds)
- san-* > *-saniine* (bathe)
- sund-* > *-sandjile* (scrabble like a hen)

These changes, as stated above, do not occur before *e*.

EXAMPLES :

- het-* > *-hetele* (arrive)
- hos-* > *-hosele* (twist, plait)

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5. VC radicals act in the same way as CVC radicals.

EXAMPLES :

- iz- > -ijile (come)
-ox- > -ozele (take the fish out of a fish trap)

6. -mon- > -muene or moene (see)

B. POLYSYLLABIC VERBAL BASES

7. When the vowel immediately preceding the suffix is *i*, *a*, or *u*, we have -ile or -ine; when *e* or *o* we have -ele or -ene. The important vowel therefore is the last vowel of the longer radical, not the first one.

EXAMPLES :

- khopam- > -khopamine (crouch)
-fujel- > -fujelele (blow, fan)

8. A pure nasal consonant or a nasal + semi-vowel occurring in any position within the longer radical will give rise to a nasal suffix (-ine, -ene).

EXAMPLES :

- nangik- > nangikine (lay on top)
-miacik- > -miacikine (plaster)
-lambangeni- > -lambangeniene (smooth
out the earth over a hole
or trap)

9. Palatalization occurs as in Section A.

EXAMPLE :

- lundanganiis- > -lundanganiifine (spread
tales)

10. Radicals ending in -ul-, -un-, -ol- or -on- become -uile, -uine, -uele (-oele) and -uene (-oene) respectively.

EXAMPLES :

- tusul- > -tusule (liberate)
-kamun- > -kamuine (wring dry)
-longolol- > -longoloele (extract from a
cavity)

-longomon- > -longomoene (disembowel or
clean an animal).

Note: One anomaly was found :

- ovul- > -ovu- lile (become soft)

11. The preceding rule also applies when the shape of the radical is CV + -ul-.

EXAMPLES :

- kaul- > -kaule (follow)
-zeul- > -zeule (consider)

C. MONOSYLLABIC VERBAL BASES

12. Monosyllabics are of two types : (a) the radical is a simple consonant or a semi-vowel, (b) the radical is a consonant + semi-vowel.

EXAMPLES :

(a) Consonant or Semi-Vowel:

- c- > -cile (dawn)
-s- > -sele (put)
-t- > -tele (fit, fish)
-i- > -iile (go)

(b) Consonant + Semi-Vowel:

- li- > -lile (eat)
-fu- > -fuile (die)
-nu- > -nuine (drink)

The first type takes either -ile or -ele in an unpredictable manner.

The second type takes -ile (*i + i > i*) or -ine.

13. Some radicals are made up of consonant + a or semi-vowel + a.

EXAMPLES :

- ca- > -caile (cut wood)
-ua- > -uaile (anoint)

The nomino-verbal forms of these two radicals are *kucaa* and *kuuaa*.

CORRESPONDENCE

Circumcision Rites of the Balovale Tribes

From PROFESSOR MAX GLUCKMAN, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Manchester.

In an article "Notes on the Circumcision Rites of the Balovale Tribes" in the last issue of your journal (Vol. 12, No. 2, June 1953) my friend, Mr. C. M. N. White, has commented on my own published analysis of *some* aspects of these rites as I observed them in lodges of Lu-vale, Mbunda, Chokwe, and Luchazi immigrants in Barotseland ("The Role of the Sexes in Wiko Circumcision Ceremonies", in *Social Structure: Studies presented to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown*, edited by M. Fortes, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1949). His general comment is:

"Most of the previous accounts have been strictly factual; but Gluckman's study breaks new ground by interpreting some of the symbolism of the rites. It provides a stimulating new aspect of the rites although some of the suggestions seem to me to rest upon rather tenuous factual foundations" (at p. 41). Mr. White stresses that where his data from the lodges and informants of the Balovale, Kabompo and Mwinilunga Districts of Northern Rhodesia do not coincide with data of earlier observers elsewhere, he does not assert that the latter were wrong. But as his comments on my own analysis seriously question the validity of my data, I consider I must reply to him point by point.

1. In the first place, Mr. White does not seem to appreciate that when I was asked to contribute a study to honour Professor Radcliffe-Brown, the editor of the book allowed me a limited number of words. I decided to offer my interpretation of circumcision rites because it was stimulated directly by Professor Radcliffe-Brown's early work on Andaman initiation ceremonies. I had to present the whole argument in the words

allowed me. This necessarily meant that I had to reduce the analysis to a few themes, neglecting (as I state in the article) other themes and reducing my supporting data. It hardly seemed necessary to mention that I had many photographs and many pages of notes, recording both observations in lodges and informants' statements, which went summarily into my analysis.

2. I clearly indicated the limitations of my data, and the handicaps of my analysis, when I wrote (at p. 146 of *Social Structure*): "... I worked through Lozi, a *lingua franca* which most Wiko men, and many women, speak and understand; but as I could not speak the Wiko languages, and was not resident among them long enough to observe the full background of family life, I appreciate that I have missed much of the symbolism of the rites. However, I am here setting out only one theme which ran through the ceremonies: the ritual tension between the sexes as groups. This was so striking that I felt it emphatically, noted it in all discussions of the ceremonies, and saw it vividly in the cycle of rites." My conclusion (at p. 167) was tentative enough: "This analysis implies a recasting of the formulation of *rites de passage* in this type of circumcision ceremony, which should be checked in other tribes." These statements surely make clear that I was aware that I was presenting a hypothesis, though I do not now seek to evade responsibility for a hypothesis which was put forward on firm factual foundations.

I pass now to more specific points.

3. At p. 43 of his article Mr. White says: "Gluckman suggests that this opposition between the circumcised, and uncircumcised [of other tribes] is emphasized, because the Wiko there live amongst uncircumcised Lozi who despise them. I doubt if this is so, for throughout their contacts with other tribes the Balovale tribes

always pose the opposition of the physical differences between them, without any question of any inferiority complex. The political situation in Barotseland may have still further accentuated this fact, but it has not created it." The last sentence is in fact what I said (at p. 152), after describing Wiko reactions to their uncircumcised neighbours in the lodge situation: "In Barotseland the Wiko circumcised *probably* glorify the lodge *additionally* against the uncircumcised foreigners because they live among those who despise them" (I emphasize the word *probably* and *additionally* for my rejoinder). I proceed to say: "Therefore the main *intra-tribal* [italicized now] alinement of the lodge is its association with the men and its opposition to the women with whom the uncircumcised boys are lumped."

4. Mr. White next criticizes me: "The ritual is secret . . . This aspect of the rites is constantly emphasized by reiteration of the need to preserve the secrets both from women and from the uncircumcised. Evil will fall the betrayer of the secrets. Gluckman reads this aspect of the rites as emphasizing the fertility aspect of the ceremony and says that impotence is the main sanction of the lodge, and idiocy or madness is secondary." Mr. White proceeds to argue that on his material the fertility aspect is but one aspect of the ceremonial, and the rites also "provide a basis for group cohesion" which is sanctioned by the threat of leprosy or madness overtaking a betrayer. I have already quoted a passage from my article in which I emphasized that I would be treating only *one* theme of a very complex ritual situation. And with all respect, I cannot see how Mr. White reads my paragraph (at p. 156) as he does. I state: "The lodge-ceremonial and medicines are mainly intended to increase the novices' semen and ability to have children . . . Impotence and unfruitfulness and poor healing of the wounds are the main sanctions of the lodge." This does not justify Mr. White's saying that I read the secrecy-aspect of the rites as emphasizing the fertility aspect of the ceremony. There is no reference in that

paragraph to "secrecy". I was stressing the extent to which ceremonial and medicines *are intended* (i.e. consciously stated) to aim at fertility, and emphasized this by citing that the main sanctions of the lodge, on mine and M. Borgonjon's (in *Aequatoria*, viii, 1945) data, are threats to fertility. When Mr. White goes on to argue that the rites have other functions than the ones I stressed, with strong *caveat*, I naturally agree. I even indicated some of the functions he stresses (p. 152 of my article).

5. Mr. White proceeds next (at p. 44) to consider my thesis that the rites exhibit opposition and collaboration of the sexes, and argues that this "interpretation goes far beyond anything which the Balovale tribes are conscious of". He says some English-speaking Africans found difficulty in accepting parts of this interpretation, though he adds this does not mean my interpretation is invalid. More particularly, he says he has never persuaded any member of these tribes to admit that the rites are "an agreement between men and women". He concludes: "I would stress the desirability of recording actual vernacular texts of what the participants say about the significance of any parts of the rites." I had considered that no one would think an anthropologist of my experience would make a crucial statement of this kind without good basis. On p. 165 I state explicitly: "Thus the ceremonial shows that the lodge is, as informants say, 'an agreement between men and women'." This surely makes clear that I have texts - indeed, many, collected by myself and Mr. D. S. Sianga, from men and women, on this point. Similarly, when I compared the fighting and collaboration between the men and women in the lodge with coitus - coitus "is 'fighting with joy', as in the circumcision ceremonies men and women 'struggle with joy'", the quotation-marks implied that I was citing informants: I explicitly stated that some Wiko saw the comparison. I cannot of course say why Mr. White's informants do not recognize the lodge as "an agreement between men and women" and do not see this analogy with coitus. I ca

only assure him that these were spontaneous statements of my informants, and not provoked agreements with leading questions. I should be glad to have M. Borgonjon's comments, and those of Mr. V. W. Turner of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, who has recently studied the rites among the Ndembo in Mwinilunga District, on this problem.

6. At p. 65 Mr. White states that I said that : "in Barotseland... the permission of both British and Lozi authorities is sought before the rites are held", and says the British were not consulted in his Districts. I regret that my wording created a misapprehension. In fact I wrote (footnote, at p. 153) : "In Barotseland the functionaries *affirmed* [now italicized] that they had the permission of the British and Lozi authorities to hold the lodge." The reference in the text is to the functionaries' appeal for peace and good-fellowship at the lodge : hence I thought it was clear that they were trying to invoke the support of state authorities against troublemakers. I did not say they "sought permission". In practice the Wiko in Barotseland ask permission of the local Lozi indunas for a specific lodge ; but they argue that they have permission of Lozi and British for holding lodges in general, and therefore can hale troublemakers to these authorities.

7. Mr. White (at p. 47) makes the very important point that in the past "the lodge was built a considerable distance from the village, and normally out of sight of the village though within hearing. To-day, it is commonly among the Luvalé and Luchazi very close to village and within view. Gluckman's picture of the antithesis of lodge and village, with the women at the village in sight of the lodge which is forbidden to them, needs a little reconsideration in the light of this. In the past this antithesis was lessened by the fact that the lodge was not in sight." I regret that I am unable to follow Mr. White's logic here. Since I set out to analyse ceremonies which I had *observed*, my analysis applied only to those ceremonies and not to ceremonies which I had *not* observed : therefore

the fact that lodges in the past were further away does not entail reconsideration of my analysis of lodges where they were close by. Mr. White agrees that the women's singing responses to the lodge at night (p. 50) and the relief of the women's tension by the play of the *makishi* (p. 54) show that the antithesis I described was present in the lodges he studied. As it happens, in 1947, after my article went to press, I saw the establishment of a lodge in western Barotseland where the lodge was distant from the village, for topographical reasons. The ritual situation was not markedly altered by this fact : hence, I did not feel it necessary to put a *caveat* in a footnote.

8. The same comment must apply to Mr. White's statement on the existence of one or two fires at the lodge : "Lunda lodges have only one [ritual fire], outside the lodge ; the other lodges have two, one inside and one outside. These are termed the male elephant (inside) and the female (outside). Gluckman sees the male and female elephants as symbolic of a combination of male and female principles in the lodge. This seems to me to need further exploration, since some lodges have only one [ritual fire] and do not distinguish male and female elephants." All the lodges I saw had the two fires : I analysed those lodges (and, at p. 155, cited other examples of the compounding of male and female principles in the lodge's structure). Obviously this particular piece of symbolic interpretation cannot be applied, at any rate directly, where there is only one fire, since the symbols I interpreted do not exist. My interpretation was based on informants' statements.

9. Mr. White says that I am possibly wrong in my statement that all the novices are grouped in pairs as man and wife, for this applies only to the first and last pair. He suggests I may have been misled by a lodge with only four novices. The grouping was clear in an Mbunda lodge of 9, and a Chokwe lodge of 15, novices. I do not affirm it is a general rule. Unfortunately, M. Borgonjon's article in *Aequatoria* is not available

to me, and I did not note what he said: but my memory is that he found the same situation as I did.

10. Mr. White's description (at p. 50) of lodges without the taboo on sex relations is quite new to me, and I found no reference to it in earlier literature. Has Mr. White? It is a most important point, especially since, as he stresses, it is a new development. He says that "the atmosphere of both types of rite [with and without the sexual taboos] needs study and comparison in the light of Gluckman's description of the tensions which exist at the rite accompanied by the sexual ban". What strikes me forcibly is his earlier statements about the lodges without the ban. In his lodges (at p. 46) the magician-circumciser gives a piece of chalk to the mother of the first novice, on the night before the circumcision. She places this in her vagina before having intercourse with her husband (the setter up of the lodge), and next day the circumciser uses it to mark the novices both before and after the operation, "to guard against the approach of those who have had sexual relations". He comments that "Gluckman ascribes the ownership of this chalk to the circumciser in his observations". Where later, at p. 50, Mr. White discusses the lodges without the sex ban, he writes: "In the rites without the ban, the chalk of [the doctor of the lodge (= circumciser)] is said to protect the novices from ill effects, but in fact the change goes further than this. In some lodges where there is no ban, the [shepherds] are specifically required to have had intercourse the night before they come in the morning to dress the wounds of the novices. Thus the taboo has been fully reversed." This paragraph is far from clear: is the insistence only on the shepherds' having sex-relations? What about the boys' parents? Mr. White himself comments: "except that it makes life easier I have heard no explanation for the change, and I do not find this explanation very satisfactory when applied to a solemn ritual." (I cannot forbear to point out that here is one point where Mr. White is *not* satisfied with his informants' insight into ritual.) In fact, the existence of rites

without a sex taboo does not deny my interpretation of rites with a sex taboo: but it is striking indeed that after relaxing the taboo, there should be insistence on sexual relations. An anthropologist would have expected this. Presumably the belief is now that the fertility of the shepherds' sex life passes to the novices, the chalk guards them from ill-effects. I suggest to Mr. White, finally, that his informants are right in the reason they give for the change: with many men at work, and the opening-up of other interests, it may be difficult to get shepherds who will give their time and self-control to the service of the lodge. Hence, you take anyone who is available and not only allow him sexual relations, but insist that he have them in the interests of the boys. Indeed, you may have to take men who are home on short visits from labouring for Whites; and there might be a domestic crisis if they tried to shuffle off their conjugal obligations in favour of their duties to the lodge.

11. Mr. White's severest criticism is of my analysis of the *makishi* masked dancers as representing the ancestors. Otherwise on the whole, I think his *description* and *interpretation* of these *makishi* coincides with mine. He stresses that the *makishi* are were-wolves of the forest, some of whom are "occupied by" dead forbears. In a footnote (p. 161) I indeed entered a qualification: "I abstract here one element from the complex character of the *makishi*. They also symbolize 'cannibals of the forest', animals, sorcerers' familiars, dead men turned into animals [Mr. White's were-wolves], foreigners, natural objects. The Wiko say the ancestral spirit is 'awakened to become a *likishi*'." As I made clear I had to get whatever I was told through Lozi, and I therefore hesitate to reply on this complex point against Mr. White's mastery of all the relevant languages. But I still affirm that in Barotseland the Wiko regard some *makishi* (my footnote made clear, *some*) as ancestors presiding over the lodge. The text I cite on p. 162 is clear. They may have adapted their views on the *makishi* to Lozi beliefs. I can only add that

I have notebooks full of data on the *makishi*, which were compressed into an abstract of one element involved in their role in the lodge : about 1,000 words.

Mr. White also asserts he knows "of no evidence to support statements" that a woman may begin to make the string for the costumes. M. Borjonjon, like myself, was given this information.

12. Mr. White gives examples of songs of the lodge, and then adds : "Gluckman refers to what he calls 'the great song of the lodge' when fish were caught in bee-hives and honey was found in the fish traps. This song is certainly not universal; I have never heard it at any of the ceremonies which I have visited and not succeeded in finding any one who knows it, though it is admitted that such a song would fall into [the category of songs sung to pass the time]. The explanation that this song refers to the complementary division of work between men and women as being part of the right order of nature is to me far-fetched, but perhaps I am unappreciative of symbolism." As for the existence of the song, it may well be an Mbunda song by origin. I collected it originally from Mbunda informants and heard it sung at two Mbunda lodges, whose Luvalé and Chokwe neighbours may have adopted it from them. But I cite (at p. 155) M. Borjonjon as recording, for the Chokwe, a key ritual in which the boys tell their mothers that at the lodge : "they found mice in fish-traps and fish in mice-traps and fought over this wonder. One of them was hurt and the shepherds said that at the end of the lodge their mothers would pay for this. Therefore their mothers must give them gifts." This suggests that the general conception I reported has been recorded by others. Mr. White might have noted this. But what does, at last, move me to some indignation, is Mr. White's incomplete and distorting quotation from my work. At p. 155 I actually wrote :

"The great song of the lodge, sung after the operation and before and after healing, *refers* [italicized now] to an upsetting of nature when

fish were caught in hives and honey was found in fish-traps by a man Sakamana and his son. When they went [to the villages] to recount this wonder and to ask for fire, they found the men preparing the food while the women sat in the men's place and tried cases. Sakamana told them to reverse their roles and they thanked him and praised his wisdom. They gave him fire and he returned to the forest to find honey in the hives and fish in the fish-traps."

I stress *refers* because the song does not tell this whole tale, but does only *refer* to it. As for Mr. White's being "unappreciative of symbolism", naturally he is so if he looks at every single fact in isolation. I stated that "the complementary division of labour between men and women [is] part of the right order of nature" because the Wiko told me it was. And it is apparent if Mr. White quoted the whole of the song that this is explicit, and not merely symbolically, expressed. Fish in hives, honey in fish-traps, in nature : men cooking, women trying cases, in the villages - that was the wrong situation, in both spheres. When Sakamana in his wisdom put things to rights in the social world, things were put to rights automatically in the natural world. Can anyone ask for a clearer exposition that "the complementary division of labour between men and women is part of the right order of nature"?

The last point of Mr. White's article has admittedly rather irritated me because his incomplete quotation will give his readers a quite false impression of the kind of data on which I based my analysis of *one* theme of the Wiko circumcision ceremonies. Indeed, it is calculated to make them think that my hypotheses have "tenuous factual foundations". I have tried in this rejoinder to Mr. White to indicate where I think he has misinterpreted me, but I have not attempted to quote the many facts which lie behind my analysis. I hope one day to publish a full analysis of the ceremonies as I saw them, with an analysis of the *makishi*. But I am fully aware that my data, gathered through a *lingua franca* in a short time, are not perfect. In replying

item by item to Mr. White I have necessarily had to make my rejoinders brief and pointed. I would stress that I welcome Mr. White's solid contribution to our knowledge of these cere-

monies ; and add that I can only envy the mastery of the languages, and the long residence among the tribes, which he brings to recording and interpreting the rites.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Fon and his Hundred Wives. REBECCA REYHER. (Gollancz, London ; 1953). 16s.

In this book Mrs. Rebecca Reyher attempts to describe the thoughts and feelings of the wives of an old polygamist, the reigning Fon of Bikom in British West Africa. A heart rending story on the subject by a Roman Catholic nun had already made front line news, and, we are told, had driven the Colonial Office to institute investigations and the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations to take up the matter and send a Commission to the area. On its return the commission announced that the Fon's private life was outside of its jurisdiction. Mrs. Reyher was not satisfied, and with the zeal of the early suffragettes set out in pursuit of the Fon and his remaining wives. This book is the result of a visit of several weeks spent in the Fon's territory, mainly in the Fon's village as his guest.

Mrs. Reyher is a journalist. She is not, and does not claim to be, an anthropologist. And as a journalist she has what many anthropologists lack - an entertaining pen and an eye for the sensational (which is usually distinct from the significant). To my mind she is at her best in her introduction, where she describes her preparations and the reactions to her "mission" of different types of people (particularly British Officials) active in the affairs of the country. The selected verbatim comments stereotype particularly well the range of European opinion on African custom, and the difficulty of changing European, as well as tribal attitudes.

The body of the book is without much substance to the student. The characterization of the

Africans is superficial, (unlike her previous study, *Zulu Woman*) and the social situation of conflict in a polygamous *ménage* is familiar to all anthropologists. Mrs. Reyher does not hesitate to generalize about "African women", and to judge "African behaviour" by her own cultural standards. At the same time she makes the people she is describing intelligible, human, and thereby brings into the range of ordinary understanding alien and unusual situations, so that, while I do not think that *The Fon* would be of use to the student, the layman might find it interesting and even enlightening.

HILDA KUPER.

Tribal Crafts of Uganda. M. TROWELL and K. P. WACHSMANN. (Oxford U. P.: 1953.) xxi, 423 pp., diagrams, plates, maps. 45s.

The book consists of two parts. The first, about two thirds of the book, is by Mrs. Trowell, head of the School of Art at Makerere College. She has been responsible for all the excellent line drawings. The second, dealing with the musical instruments, is written by Dr. Wachsmann, curator of the Uganda Museum. Though the descriptions used and drawings are restricted to Uganda it is clear that these arts and crafts did not originate there and, though a little comparative work is done one notices but little reference to German sources which are rich in illustrations of African material culture. So much of the Uganda material culture finds its parallel in Nigeria, just as do the steps and titles in the Uganda coronation ceremony that more reference to these similarities would have been appropriate. Thus referring to pipes on page

130 reference is made to one with "an uncommon flat base". Flat based pipes are common in Nigeria.

On page 34 a reference is made that the Gishu are Bantu linguistically, and physically of a more primitive type than any other in Uganda. As all Negroes are remarkably homogeneous what precisely is meant by calling the Gishu more primitive: different, yes, but more primitive? Estimates of time by genealogies are most unreliable. Thus on page 21 one finds 32 generations covering about a thousand years. What then does one do with the Busoga with 120 generations? Do they then cover over 4000 years? What of the days when divine kings ruled for only seven years? I have found that the average length of an African ruler's reign is between 13 and 14 years. (*Man*, 117, 1945.) Taking the mean at 13.5, then the Busoga generations go back 1600 years, and the Buganda 400. It is interesting to read on p. 317 that: "finally an expert tuner is called in to give the final touch. These men are very rare nowadays." The popular impression that all Negroes are innate musicians receives a jar. What is apparent is the very high musical ability and knowledge that these people possess. This fact is brought out by their having distinct and special names for the different strings of the stringed instruments and for flutes and drums. Among the drums are pots, but they do not seem to be like the special percussion pots as made among the Ibo. (*Man*, 215, Dec. 1940.) On page 373 reference is made to the *ntenga* or curved drum stick. No illustration is given of the *ntenga* to see whether it is similar to those used in Nigeria by, e.g., the Hausa. The title (p. 386) "the drum of the twins" is interesting and is probably a euphemism for "the drum of the gods", because when twins are preserved they rank as gods or spirits.

I notice the wrong use of the term witchcraft for black magic in, e.g., pp. 393, 398. The disappearance of the bow harp is a good example of the loss of a culture trait. When such a trait is lost it is gone for ever. It is not re-invented. It may be relearned but then some one has to come with the requisite knowledge and do the instructing. A similar example is the loss of *kyak*-making among the Eskimo of Smith Sound, Northern

Greenland. Even when supplied with all the necessary materials they could not make *kyaks* because they also did not have the "know-how" until a Baffin Islander Eskimo arrived among them and retaught them. Much of the Baganda material culture is in wood: there is wood carving, what tools were used? None are illustrated.

The work fills a long needed want and one hopes that other Colonial Governments will follow this lead and let the public learn of the many treasures hidden in the museums in Colonial and Protectorate territories. The book is an essential for any reference library and for that of anthropologists.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

The Tribes of Rustenburg and Pilansberg Districts. P. L. BREUTZ. (Government Printer, Pretoria: 1953.) 501 pp., tables, map. 10s.

This book is No. 28 of the Ethnological Publications of the Department of Native Affairs for the Union of South Africa. The book is produced by the roneo process from typescript.

The book opens with a general historical background from which one gains a vista of past glories. Thus Moffat in 1829 writes: "The ruined towns exhibited signs of immense labour and perseverance, every fence being composed of stones, averaging five or six feet high, raised apparently without either mortar, lime or hammer. Everything is circular..." Here is seen, as it were, the fading away of the great Zimbabwe culture, under the depredations according to Dr. Breutz of the Matabele and of Mantati raids. Recent historical evidence has come to light which shows that the Mantati were never in these regions, in fact never crossed the Vaal river.

Vestiges of a former pomp and glory that is associated with the courts and palaces of divine kings appear. Thus one finds the mystic number seven in connection with chiefs. The Bakwena ba Mogopa (p. 97) have a council of twelve members drawn from seven clans, whilst the Bakwena ba Modimosana ba Mmatau had seven sub-chiefs. Among the Batlhako (p. 301) the chief is the bull of the village, just as the Pharaoh was the Apis

bull. The Bakwena ba Mogopa have a horn containing the chief's ointment. This horn appears to be a symbolical "sacra", or sacred bundle similar to the *inkatha* of the Zulu. Chiefs still give the signal for the sowing and the harvesting of the crops and still have farms prepared for them by the tribe but these customs are dying out.

The book is a history of wars and cattle raids revolving around the royal families or ruling groups. One can see a steady decline in the Bantu culture as a result of these wars. Thus Dr. Breutz writes (p. 42): "After 1823, when the Tswana country was ravaged for the first time by Sebetwane's men, the tribes for 50 years had little opportunity of practising their traditional extensive agriculture. During this period much of their original ability and knowledge was lost . . ." Further loss is reported as a result of European contacts. Circumcision is no longer practised as a result of Mission teaching; age-groups, as regiments, have ceased; polygamy is the exception; girls leave the kraals and have children while still unmarried. Square houses on the European plan with European equipment are replacing the native round house and native material culture. Nevertheless *lobolo* is still paid, and a girl who can bring a couple of children with her at marriage secures a higher *lobolo* (p. 190) thus indicating that *lobolo* is concerned with the purchase of children and not of the bride.

The book in addition to general outline of the history of the area and a general tabulation of the economic wealth of the natives gives a detailed history of each tribe, its origins (some are of Zulu extraction, others Pedi), migrations, chiefs and genealogies of the ruling families, wars, present numbers, economic resources, churches, schools, and political institutions. The book is an economic assessment and political description of each tribe and is an assential for every Native Commissioner. Its cover is blue and one may say it takes of the nature of blue books, in that it is an objective record of the statistical and historical record of each tribe.

Some interesting items come to light; thus Morwa Nare of the Bakwena ba Mogopa inherited his father's wives (p. 85) - a custom common in

Nigeria but not among the southern Bantu. There are tantalising items on which more information is required. Thus the cattle are repeatedly described as a mixed breed of native and Afrikaner cattle. But what is meant by native cattle, are these the dwarf short-horn, the *Bos brachyceros* or *Bos primigenius*? An interesting remark is that the native woman, as is her European sister, seem to reach a higher age than the men (p. 104). As I have found one man who died at 100 (p. 367) and two who died at 106 (pp. 366, 380) one wonders at what ages the women die.

The book suffers from not being properly proof-read. There are a number of typing errors as well as mistakes in spelling. Reference libraries should possess a copy.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD. (Oxford U.P. : 1951.)
xi, 183 pp., illus., maps. 15s.

In 1940 in *African Political Systems* (p. 293) Evans-Pritchard wrote: "In the strict sense of the word, the Nuer have no law. There is no one with legislative or juridical functions. There are conventional payments considered due to a man who has suffered certain injuries . . . but these do not make a legal system, for there is no constituted and impartial authority who decides on the rights and wrongs of a dispute and there is no external power to enforce such a decision were it given." This statement was repeated in his book *The Nuer* (1940,6) and is a true and correct one for the mode of life of the Nuer. There is no hierarchy of courts; a decision reached by arbitration is of necessity enforced either by self help or with the assistance of kinsmen or age-group. There is no appeal from such a decision. No specific term exists to describe societies, such as the Nuer, that function and cohere without a legal system. Societies with legal systems are correctly described as political. For non-political societies the term "primad" (primitive administration) societies has been coined and is an apt and suitable one. Evans-Pritchard's *ad hoc* definition of a political organization does not thereby make it one; otherwise 'tis but saying so

makes it so. He defines the Nuer political structure (p. 46) as "a system of relations between territorial groups which express both their autonomy and their participation in the system in terms of lineage and clan affiliation." But territoriality is not the criterion of a political system; it is merely a feature of it, otherwise the South African Bushman of whom Schapera states likewise no law, would also have a political structure.

The Nuer are essentially a "primad" society yet one finds Evans-Pritchard repeatedly using the terms political and legal in referring to the Nuer. Thus he writes (p. 5): "The identification of lineage segments with tribal segments in a political context is brought about by the acknowledgement that certain clans and their lineages have rights in certain tribal areas and by the residence in those areas of a sufficient number of members of these dominant groups to act as nuclei of local and political groups." Now there is no legal system nor is there any political organization among the Nuer. There is ample social organization and social structure but nothing else. He makes this situation abundantly clear (p. 24) when he writes:

"The members of a lineage group are socially undifferentiated as such in the inter-lineage structure because it is a structural relationship between groups. In the kinship system they are socially differentiated by category and degree of relationship – this being an essential characteristic of the system – because the kinship system is a system of relationship between persons." Such then is the set up of a primad society yet in p. 31 he speaks of a *legal* father when he means either a conventional father or a customary father, or a cultural father or a social father, but not a legal father. So also we have (p. 119) "the simple legal family". What is wrong with the true and correct statement "the simple customary or conventional family"? Or page 120, he writes: "Adultery in their eyes is an illegal but not immoral act." Is it or is it merely anti-social as in our own legal and political society where adultery is not even illegal? Finally there is the absurdity of saying (p. 110) that "the legal husband is the ghost in whose name the bridewealth was paid ..."

Surely this ghost husband is the conventional husband. No legal system recognizes ghosts as having human claims or legal rights.

One wonders, when the rest of the book is so clear, why this unnecessary confusion over legal and political institutions must be introduced; why such terms must be used where they do not exist, why the student must be led astray. This confusion becomes apparent when (p. 21) Evans-Pritchard writes: "She was a woman of the Nyarkwas major lineage of the Jinaca clan who bore her children in unmarried concubinage to two men. The fathers legitimized their children by payment of cattle." The fathers did nothing of the kind. The children were not illegitimate. As there is no law and no legal system among the Nuer, children have a normal status in the social structure. As the woman was a concubine the children took the status of their mother. The payment of cattle by the genitors transferred the status of the children from their mother's lineage to that of the genitors. There was nothing legal about the transaction, it was customary and conventional.

There is at times a misconception over 'lobolo'. Marriage is a rite of passage in which 'lobolo' plays no part. Consequently when Evans-Pritchard (p. 74) writes: "Like many of African peoples the Nuer marry by the family and kin of the bridegroom handing over cattle to the family and kin of the bride", does he mean what he has written. Surely it can be argued that the 'lobolo' has nothing whatever to do with marriage but is essential for determining the status of the children of the marriage. Marriage without 'lobolo' the status of the children is that of the *mater*; Marriage plus 'lobolo': the status of the children becomes that of the pater, whoever it may be, male or female. Evans-Pritchard actually says that 'lobolo' effects the transfer of children. He writes (p. 97): "For the loss of a daughter, or rather of her children, her lineage receive cattle which enable them to obtain a wife from a third lineage to bear them children." More accurately the sentence should run: "For the loss of a daughter's children the lineage receive cattle which enable them to retain the children of a wife from a third lineage."

It is very doubtful (p. 90) whether a 'lobolo' pay-

ment stabilizes a marriage. The 'lobolo' fixes the status of the children with the pater. The mater while perhaps hating the pater stays with him because of her attachment to the children which is a different thing from saying that 'lobolo' stabilizes marriage. He writes to this effect when he says (p. 96) that 'lobolo' "ceases to be of any great significance once the new family is firmly established after the birth of the second child".

It is a great pity that such an excellent exposition of a "primad" society should be marred by the misuse of the terms legal and political, and the uncertainty as to the function of 'lobolo'. Were these faults eliminated, what an excellent book to place in the hands of students! Let us hope that in a revised edition these blemishes will disappear.

The book can be recommended as an excellent study of a "primad" society, and how its social structure and social organization function to maintain coherence in this African society.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

Sukuma Law and Custom. HANS CORY. (Oxford University Press, London : 1953.) 194 pp. 18s.

This book is the first effort to reduce to writing the law of the big Sukuma tribe in Tanganyika. It is a notable improvement on the earlier attempt to record Hayá law, also made by Mr. Cory, who is "Government sociologist" in the territory. Both in the methods adopted to obtain the material and in the style of presenting it, this work sets a new standard. The progress made in this field can be measured by comparing its method and substance with Professor I. Schapera's *Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (1938).

There is, however, still an air of apology on the part of British colonial servants when they belatedly tackle the task of reducing Native law to writing. In a foreword to this book, Mr. J. P. Moffatt, who is adviser to the Native courts in Tanganyika, echoes the Colonial Office view. "It is difficult to judge whether the (customary) law at any one time in its growth has reached a stage when record would be desirable. Indeed, to reduce a customary law to writing at any one time with-

out taking into consideration the trends of development over a long period may be dangerous." If this view is not sheer nonsense, it certainly reveals a failure to grasp what is and what is not necessarily involved in putting Native law into print. There is no mysterious point of time discoverable when recording will cease to be "dangerous" and begin to be "desirable". If it is British policy to give African dependencies the benefits of the rule of law, the sooner Native law gets into print, the better is that aim likely to be achieved. Nothing imaginable can be gained by further delays, while everyone waits for time to ripen.

A handbook of Native law is not a code. But a compiler finds, as the codifiers of early law did, that he can alter, amend, and improve the law in the act of writing it down. From the description given, it appears that Mr. Cory wisely did this. He consulted the chiefs, discussed his formulation of rules with them, and secured their "consent to the adoption of many rules which are in the nature of a compromise" between different opinions about current custom. Of course, he also relied on decided cases wherever he could. The product is therefore much sounder than the timidity expressed in the preliminary pages led one to expect. Practice turned out to be better than theory. As to the theory of law and law-making, it is surely now time for those who influence the development of Native law to realize that legislation can always repair the errors and omissions of the Native courts. Legislation should also construct a path for progress if law is to keep pace with economic and social change, as it must. In other words, if Africans are to live under the rule of law, they will require many of the conscious legal techniques and procedures that have been tried and found efficient among Europeans. We ought to tell them so and impart what we can without repining.

The Swahili version of these Sukuma rules, without the explanatory notes, is to be published separately as a handbook for use in the courts. Let us hope that it will be granted the permanence of binding in hard covers, a right denied to this book. Ought it not to be a criminal offence to publish a law book like this one, designed for regular use, without cloth binding? J. LEWIN.